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ART. I.—THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

The Reign of Henry VIII., from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey. Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents. By the late J. S. BREWER, M.A. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, of the Public Record Office. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 1884.

IF an Englishman were asked by a foreigner for an explanation of the title, Defender of the Faith, borne by our sovereigns, he would probably reply that it was first given, for interested motives, by Pope Leo X. to King Henry VIII. in reward for a book no longer read and that was probably never worth reading; and that the title has since been retained in a spirit of national irony. A somewhat similar though more supernatural view was indeed put forth publicly by one of Henry's bishops almost immediately after his breach with the Holy See.

Miles Coverdale, in the dedication of his translation of the Bible to Henry VIII., after relating how Caiaphas and Balaam unconsciously prophesied of the Redemption, thus continues:

Even after the same manner the blind Bishop of Rome (that blind Balaam I say), not understanding what he did, gave unto your grace this title, Defender of the Faith, only because your highness suffered your bishops to burn God's word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of the same; where in very deed this blind bishop (though he knew not what he did) prophesied that, by the righteous administration and continual diligence of your grace, the faith should be so defended, that God's word, the mother of faith, with the fruits thereof, should have his free course throughout all Christendom, but specially in your realm. . . . The truth of both these prophecies is of the Holy Ghost, though they that spake them knew not what they said. . . . The truth of our Balaam's prophecy is, that your grace in very deed should defend this faith, yea even the

true faith of Christ, no dreams, no fables, no heresy, no papistical inventions, but the uncorrupt faith of God's most holy word, which to set forth your highness, with your most honourable council, applieth all his study and endeavour.

The last historian of Henry VIII., Mr. Brewer, in his brilliant "Introductions to the Calendars of State Papers," seems rather disposed to treat the matter as a good joke, in which, however, Henry was befooled rather than the Pope. He speaks of Leo—"one of the most sagacious of men"—as not liking to carry on "the farce" too far, and for that reason refusing to have the royal book presented to him in a public Consistory.* In another place he writes as follows:—

Of his own spontaneous and mere motion, unsolicited by Popes or Nuncios, Henry overwhelmed the new Titan of heresy; bound him under a mountain of royal theology and invective never to rise again—so at least Popes and Bishops assured him, and he was willing to believe. The joy of Leo was unbounded; for he was at that time in hope (vain hope!) of recruiting an exhausted exchequer by a new loan from England. Latin dictionaries, Ciceronian vocabularies, styles and titles, were diligently examined; various epithets proposed and rejected. After months spent in deliberation, Henry, the new candidate for spiritual honours, was admitted into the narrow and exclusive orbit of the Church's patrons. "Defender of the Faith" was nearly as superlative, if not quite, as "Catholic" or "Most Christian," and was regarded with jealousy by the monopolists and admirers of earlier distinction.†

The style of this passage reminds us of Macaulay and of Froude, but it is a style we have learnt to distrust. We do not think that Leo's hopes of money are any more authentic than the Latin dictionaries. We do not think the matter was originally a farce, or that, if it was, it has turned out to the confusion of the Pope. After a careful study of Henry's book, and of all the transactions regarding the grant of the royal title, we have formed a different estimate of this affair, which we shall here attempt to explain and justify. If we have to differ with Mr. Brewer in his conclusions, and to correct a few errors of fact into which he has fallen, we would not wish to be thought to depreciate his book in general. It is our sense of the authority that belongs to one who united such patient and skilful investigation with brilliant exposition that makes us anxious lest his words should be accepted blindly on a point to which we think he had not given sufficient attention.

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 604. It will be more convenient to refer to this republication of Mr. Brewer's "Introductions," than to the volumes of the "Rolls Series" where they first appeared.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 301.

The history of the title has been investigated by many writers ; we shall sum up the results of their labours, and after a few words as to the authorship of the book ascribed to Henry, we shall give some specimens of its teaching, with their bearings, not so much on Luther as on Henry himself.

Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, told Charles I. that it was clear from the Register of the Order of the Garter that Henry VII. had the title of Defender of the Faith ; " which news the king received with much joy, nothing more pleasing him than that the right of that title was fixed in the crown long before the Pope's pretended donation." * But the dean was wrong and the king's joy was delusive. It was from the Pope that the honour was eagerly sought by Henry VIII., as from the only authority competent to bestow it. In order to explain the documents that have been relied on for the contrary opinion, the distinction must be carefully noted between an epithet or title used by way of zeal or duty or devotion, and one that is conferred by way of honour and distinction. Thus all Christians are saints by vocation ; but to a few only is the word saint prefixed as to those who are enrolled among the Church's heroes. The kings of England then certainly called themselves and proved themselves Defenders of the Faith before the title was solemnly given to Henry VIII. Thus Richard II., in a charter to the Chancellor of Oxford, in condemnation of Wycliff's " *Triologus*," uses the words : " *Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, ejus sumus et erimus Deo dante defensores, salubriter commoti.*" Henry IV., in the second year of his reign, promised to defend the Christian religion, and Henry VI., in the twentieth year of his reign, acts as keeper of the Christian faith.† So, too, in the admonition used in the investiture of a knight with the insignia of the Garter, he is told to take the crimson robe, and being therewith defended, to be bold to shed his blood for Christ's faith and the liberties of the Church ;‡ and as the head of this illustrious Order the king was especially Defender of the Faith. Evidently the kings of France and of Spain could have claimed the title in this sense equally with the kings of England.

* "Notes and Queries," Oct. 17, 1874. Another Christopher Wren made a similar statement in a letter to Peck, the antiquary, in 1737. Chamberlain, in his "Present State of England" (1669), p. 88, says that it appears by several charters granted to the University of Oxford that the title of Defender of the Faith was anciently used by kings of England.—"Notes and Queries," vol. ii. p. 442 (1850). Another writer cites an Indenture of Henry VII. of the year 1487, where the title also appears.—"Notes and Queries," Sept. 12, 1874.

† Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 466, v. 61. "Archæologia," vol. xix.

‡ Mr. Sydney Gibson, "Notes and Queries," vol. ii. p. 481 (1850).

The kings of France had, however, by ancient consent the titles of Eldest Son of the Church, and Most Christian,* and during and after the French wars the kings of England certainly attempted to encroach on the latter pre-eminence, and became jealous of it. Henry VI., having been crowned in France, particularly affected the title Most Christian. It was also adopted by Edward IV. and Henry VII., and our English Chroniclers in the same spirit are fond of using it.†

When Louis XII. set up the schismatical synod of Pisa (in 1511) it was contended that he had forfeited his right to this title, and Julius II. transferred it to Henry VIII., but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the king might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the Pontiff. After the victory of Guinegate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead, and Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction, and means were found to pacify the king, with the promise of some other but equivalent distinction.‡

The English king was, however, eager to get a title that would raise him to the level of the "Most Christian" king of France and the "Catholic" monarch of Spain, and negotiations were carried on with the Holy See for this purpose in the years 1515 and 1516. Silvester, Bishop of Worcester, Henry's ambassador, writes to Ammonius in 1515 that :

The Pope (Leo X.) has used all efforts to bestow the title of Protector on the king, but strictly the term Protector belongs to the Emperor, therefore the Pope thinks of giving him Defender, were it not that this title had been given by Julius II. to the Swiss. Some propose that he shall be called King Apostolic, since in the Secret of the Mass, after the words *Te igitur*, the phrase occurs "*Apostolicæ Fidei cultor*;" some propose Orthodox; none are satisfactory to the Pope.§

Henry grows impatient. He likes the proposed title, Defender of the Church or of the Faith, and he writes to the Bishop of Worcester, on May 22, 1516, that he is not pleased that he has heard no more of it, as if the Pope were afraid of the French.||

The rewarding of services or securing of allegiance by the

* Selden, in his "Titles of Honour" (part i. ch. 5), remarks that the French kings do not use their title in the first person, and that it was given to them long before it became a formal title.

† Wikes, of Henry III. in 1268; Thomas Elmham and Titus Livius of Henry VI. A Pope had styled Edward I. "*Christianissimus Princeps*," but not as giving a formal title.

‡ Lingard, "*History of England*," vol. iv. p. 228 (ed. 1855). Fiddes' "*Life of Wolsey*," p. 72. "*Collections*," p. 10.

§ "*Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*," vol. ii. part i. pp. 967, 1456.

|| *Ibid.* vol. ii. part i. p. 1929. Martene, *Amp. Col.* vol. iii. p. 1270.

bestowal of titles and decorations is no doubt a most effectual and economical method of government; but from the nature of the case such rewards must be given sparingly or they lose their value as distinctions. And this is especially the case with regard to Christian sovereigns, whose number is so small. We cannot wonder therefore that Pope Leo was in no hurry to gratify Henry's ambition, and that he managed to postpone the coveted favour until the king had done something more to merit it. Whence or how soon came the thought to Henry's mind to outshine other kings by drawing his pen as well as his sword in the service of the Church must be a matter of conjecture. "The authors of the history of the Augustinian Friars," says Mr. Brewer, "claim for Bernard André, the poet, the credit of engaging the king in this novel path of theological controversy." Others think that it was a plan of Wolsey's thus to compromise, as it were, his royal master on the side of the Church, in the disputes and schisms which were threatening Europe. However this may have been, Henry needed no urging, whether he was moved by zeal for Catholic truth, or by literary ambition, or by eagerness to add to his royal titles. Mr. Brewer has, however, fallen into an error, and antedated by three years the efforts of Henry against Luther. His statement is as follows:—

On the 24th June, 1518, Pace writes to Wolsey that the king was pleased with the commendations given to *his book* by the Cardinal; and though he does not think it worthy such praise as it had from him and all other great learned men, yet he is very glad "to have noted in your Grace's letters that his reasons be called inevitable, considering that your Grace was some time his adversary herein, and of contrary opinion"—a passage well worth observing. The same statement is repeated by Pace four days afterwards. Now, though the word *book* is used frequently to imply a paper of political instructions or a written agreement, in its connection here with the praises of learned men, it seems to me impossible that it can be employed in any other than in its modern meaning. If so, the book to which Pace refers must be the draft of the king's book against Luther, which appeared in 1521. . . . The correspondence of Pace invalidates the supposition that he or More or both conjointly were the real authors of the book. They may have assisted in its composition, especially in correcting the Latin style, but had they been the authors of it Pace would scarcely have held the language he did to Wolsey.*

But if the date Mr. Brewer assigns to Pace's letter is correct, it is simply impossible that he can be writing about the book afterwards published by Henry. That book is from beginning to end

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 234. He repeats his reasoning on the same grounds at p. 601.

directed against Luther's work, "On the Babylonian Captivity," which did not appear until the autumn of 1520. Henry could not be engaged in refuting it in 1518. To what book then does Pace refer? The mystery is cleared up by a letter of Erasmus to Duke George of Saxony, written in September, 1522.* Erasmus is proving that the "Assertio" is Henry's own composition. Among the proofs that the king was capable of such work, he says "A few years ago he composed a theological disputation: 'Whether a Layman is Bound to Vocal Prayer.'"[†] "A few years ago" would exactly tally with the date of Pace's letter, and we have no doubt that this scholastic exercise is the *book* to which Pace refers, and which Wolsey and other learned men had commended. Wolsey therefore must not be supposed (as Mr. Brewer seems to hint) to have taken the Lutheran side, or to have been dissatisfied with the force of the royal arguments in a first perusal of Henry's controversial work. Erasmus adds in the same letter that "the King is fond of the books of scholastic theologians, and is wont to discuss theological questions at his banquets." It was no doubt in one of these verbal discussions that the Cardinal had contended with the king as a courtier might in a game of chess; but now that the king has put his arguments in writing the accomplished statesman owns himself convinced and converted by such "inevitable" proofs.

There is then no reason for thinking that Henry was engaged on any work against Luther before the year 1521. Luther had then been nearly six years before the world as an innovator, but it was only two years since he had thrown off the mask, and only a few months since he had burnt the Pope's Bull and the Canon Law at Wittenberg (December 11, 1520). In October, 1520, he had published a book called "On the Babylonian Captivity," in which he pretends that the Church had been for some centuries in captivity to the Roman Pontiffs, as the Israelites had been in captivity in Babylon. Tunstal, who was at Worms in January, 1521, writes to Wolsey on the subject, concluding: "I pray God keep that book out of England."

In spite of that warning (says Mr. Brewer), before April, 1521, the dreaded book has found its way into England. On the 21st of that month Pace writes to Wolsey: "At mine arrival to the king this morning, I found him looking over a book of Luther's. And his

* Epistola 635. Le Clerc's ed. of Erasmus. Leyden. 1703.

[†] The late Canon Simmons, in the "Lay Folks' Mass Book," p. 158, quotes a dialogue between Henry's daughter, the Princess Mary, in 1527, when she was thirteen years old, and her French tutor. They discuss the question whether the laity are bound to use vocal prayers during Mass, or only to be attentive and hear the prayers. Probably the subject was chosen in compliment to the royal father's dissertation.

Grace showed unto me that it was a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof, and perceived by the same that it is the same book put into print that your Grace sent unto him by me written.*

In the Octave of the Ascension, Fisher preached his great sermon against Luther at St. Paul's Cross in the presence of the king; and on May 20, the king himself wrote to the Pope that he was writing against Luther and wished to dedicate the book to him. It was not completed until August, 1521. John Clerk (afterwards bishop of Bath) was chosen as special envoy or orator. Twenty-eight copies of the book, richly bound in cloth of gold, were delivered to him for presentation to cardinals, or to be sent by the Pope to princes, and in one copy in particular the king wrote with his own hand,

Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo decime, mittit
Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitia.†

In the meantime the news had reached Rome, in June, of the great champion who was putting on his armour, and again the question of the title was mooted. Dr. Maziere Brady, in the second volume of his "Episcopal Succession," has published from the original "Acta Consistorialia," the debates of the Consistory of June 10, 1521.‡ Though the cardinals did not consult "dictionaries and Ciceronian vocabularies," some of their proposals were strange enough. His Holiness made known that the Cardinal of York, his Legate in England, had written that it would perhaps not be inopportune (*inconveniens*) for his Holiness to give some title to the king of England, and each cardinal was told to state his opinion. Some proposed Pious or most Pious (*Pientissimus*); others, among whom the Pope himself, thought of Apostolic; some, the Faithful King. One proposed Angelic from Anglia, another Orthodox, another Ecclesiastic, another Protector. To this last suggestion the Pope remarked that he could not be simply Protector, but Protector of the Faith, and that they must be careful not to seem to detract from any title formerly given by the Holy See to other kings. Some cardinals wanted to know what reason there was for giving him a special title, that they might discuss the matter better.

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 602. Pace does not name the book, and he seems to say that it had been first circulated in MS. and that he had made a copy and sent it to Wolsey. It may have been one of Luther's pamphlets about Indulgences or on Christian Liberty, and not the larger work on the Church and Sacraments called, "The Captivity of Babylon."

† This copy is now in the Vatican Library.

‡ These documents were not known to Mr. Brewer. Dr. Brady's work was published in Rome in 1876.

Cardinal Egidius said that when Maximilian was chosen emperor, he had complained that the King of France had usurped the title of Most Christian, since in the prayer it was given to the emperor. Some said that Julius II. had taken it away from the king of France and granted it to the king of England, on account of his great services at that time against the schismatics, and that in the same way now, for his pious and illustrious acts for the honour of the Holy See and the Christian religion against Luther, he ought to be honoured with some eminent title. Many cardinals did not like the title Apostolic, since it was that of the Pope, to which it was answered that the addition of the word King would prevent any confusion. At length the Pope decided that he would write down some titles, that the cardinals might examine them whether they should be sent to the Cardinal of York that the king of England might choose one.

This was done on the 14th of June. The Pope proposed a list of titles to be sent to the king for his selection, but with the admonition that if he liked none of them and himself proposed another, it should be one that could not give umbrage to other kings. Henry seems to have kept to his old favourite, The Defender of the Faith.

Clerk writes that when he presented the book privately to Leo, who admired "the trim decking," and opening it, read successively five leaves of the Introduction without interruption, and as I suppose he would never a' ceased till he had read it over. At such places as he liked, and that seemed to be at every second line, he made ever some demonstration, *vel nutu vel verbo*, whereby it appeared that he had great pleasure in reading. And when his Holiness had read a great season I assure your Grace he gave the book a great commendation, and said there was therein much wit and clerkly conveyance, and how that there were many great clerks that had written in the matter, but this book would seem to pass all theirs.*

Leo, however, declined Clerk's urgent request for a public Consistory. He said if a public Consistory were summoned, besides the clergy a great crowd of laymen would be present, and whereas Lutheranism had been silenced for a time and the minds of men quieted, this act should put them in remembrance and renew the old sore.† The private Consistory was held on Wednesday the 2nd of October. Clerk writes:—

That his Holiness went into the place where Consistories were accustomed to be kept, and within a little while called in such prelates as were tarrying without to the number of twenty. And immediately after, the master of the ceremonies came unto me, and informed me

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 603.

† *Ibid.* p. 604.

somewhat of the ceremonies; and amongst others that I should kneel upon my knees all the time of mine oration. Whereat I was somewhat abashed, for methought I should not have my heart nor my spirit so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneeling as they would standing. Howbeit there was no remedy; and needs I must do as the master of the ceremonies did tell me. And so following him I entered the place where the Pope's Holiness sat in his majesty upon a dais three steps from the ground, underneath a cloth of estate. Afore him, in a large quadrant, upon stools, sat the bishops in their consistorial habits, to the number of twenty.

He was then presented by the master of the ceremonies, and after three obeisances the Pope allowed Clerk to kiss his feet; but as he attempted to rise, "his Holiness," he says, "took me by the shoulders and caused me to kiss first the one cheek and then the other." Then returning to the stool which had been placed for him, Clerk pronounced his oration on his knees. The Pope made a complimentary reply.*

Mr. Brewer says that the title of *Fidei Defensor* was conferred the next day, and that the news reached England at the end of October. The news of Clerk's private interview and even of his public reception may have reached Henry by that time, since on November 4 Pace writes to Wolsey that the king had received his extracts from Clerk's letters, and "was rejoiced to hear of the Pope's singular contentation of his book, and how honourably and lovingly it was accepted by his Holiness," but the affair of the title was not terminated quite so speedily. From the "Consistorial Acts" it appears that nineteen days after the public reception of the book, and when the cardinals had had time to read it, on October 21, the Pope proposed to give the title of *Defender of the Faith*, and all agreed that he should be offered this title or that of *Orthodox* or *Glorious* or most *Faithful*.† The question, however, was not again referred to Henry. Probably Clerk interpreted the king's mind, and in a Consistory on October 25 a copy was read of the Bull and Brief granting the title of *Defender of the Faith*.‡

The Bull was forwarded at once by special messenger to Wolsey, and was by him presented with an appropriate speech to the King.§ On November 17, Pace writes to Wolsey of the king's joy at the "perpetual renown that would be to him and all his successors," and was gracious enough to add that, since he had been moved and led to write his book by Wolsey, the

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 605.

† Brady's "Episcopal Succession," vol. ii. p. 267.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 267.

§ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.," vol. iii. part ii. p. 1659.

Cardinal "must of good congruity be partner of all the honour and glory he hath obtained by that act."*

Great were the rejoicings in England. Gold medals were struck with the title in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Over the Council Chamber of the Guildhall in London were inscribed two verses in honour of the king and the emperor :

Carolus, Henricus vivant, defensor uterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.†

Copies of the book were printed on vellum for presentation to sovereign princes, and letters of congratulation poured in to the king.‡

On July 26, 1522, the College of Cardinals wrote to the king beseeching him, by his title of Defender of the Faith, to show an example to other kings in war against the Turk.§ The appeal, however, had no result, and (as we shall see) many another appeal addressed to Henry and his successors on the same ground has been equally fruitless. *Noblesse oblige* is a maxim often less strong than self-interest.

In his Bull the Sovereign Pontiff wrote as follows :

We, the true successor of St Peter, whom Christ, before His ascension, left as his Vicar upon earth, and to whom He committed the care of his flock, presiding in this Holy See, from whence all dignities and titles have their source (*a qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant*) have decreed to bestow on your Majesty this title, and by these letters we do now bestow it, commanding all Christ's faithful to name your Majesty by this title, and when they write to you to add the words "Fidei Defensor" after the word King. . . . Nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but, according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble, and more strong and constant in the faith of Christ, and in your devotion to this Holy See, by which you were exalted.

There is nothing in the Bull to indicate the intention of the Pope that this title should descend to Henry's successors. Though on the receipt of the Bull Henry spoke to Pace about his joy "at the renown that would be to him *and all his successors*," this may be understood as referring to the lustre which a king's posterity derive from the singular glory of their progenitor, as the successors of William the Conqueror might be proud of his title without themselves sharing it. Besides, the king was repeating the very words of the Bull, which are these :

* "State Papers," iii. 1772.

† Selden, "Titles of Honour," part i. ch. 5.

‡ In the Althorp Library of Earl Spencer is the copy presented to the King of Denmark. In the Record Office is a congratulatory letter from the Doge of Venice (March 17, 1522).

§ "State Papers," iii. part. ii. 2,405.

You will rejoice in the Lord, the Giver of all good, to leave this perpetual and immortal monument of your glory to your posterity, and to show them the way, *that if they also wish to be invested with such a title*, they may study to do similar actions and to follow the illustrious traces of your Majesty.

It would seem from this that the Pope intended the title to be hereditary rather than hereditary. He concludes by praying God,

by whom kings reign and princes rule, and in whose hand are the hearts of kings, to confirm Henry in his holy resolves and increase his devotion, and to make him so illustrious by his glorious deeds on behalf of the holy faith, and so conspicuous to the whole world, that no one may be able to deem false or vain the judgment of the Holy See in bestowing so splendid a title.

The grant was confirmed by Clement VII. in 1524, but neither did he bestow the title on Henry's successors: "*Approbamus, confirmamus, tibi perpetuum et proprium deputamus;*" and Henry himself was solemnly deprived of it by Paul III. in his Bull issued in 1535, but suspended, and only finally put forth in 1538.*

In spite, however, of his breach with the Holy See and his excommunication, Henry would not relinquish his eagerly coveted and hard-won honours, and his complaisant Parliament in 1543 united the title of Defender of the Faith with that of Supreme Head of the Church of England and of Ireland, annexing the titles "*for ever to the Imperial Crown of his Highness' realm of England.*"† This act was repealed in the first and second of Philip and Mary,‡ and revived in the first Elizabeth. Since then some changes have been made in the Royal Style, such as the omission of claim to be King of France, but the title of Defender of the Faith has been continued.

Nor have Catholics had any difficulty in giving this title to Protestant kings and queens, since a title indicates what a man should be, not always what he really is. Thus Harding, in the early years of Elizabeth, in his dedication to her of his confutation of Jewel's apology, calls the Queen "*by the grace of God Queen*

* The Bull is in Rymer, xii. 756. Also in Tierney's "*Dodd,*" i. 346. The original is in the British Museum. It is dated "*quinto idus Octobris,*" i.e., Oct. 11, 1521.

† "*Statutes at Large*" (1758), ii. 172.

‡ The title was omitted in the Bull addressed by Julius III. to Philip and Mary; yet Mary used it both before and after her marriage. In this there was no disobedience or disloyalty to the Holy See. Paul III. had forbidden any one to give it to Henry or to his offspring by Anne Boleyn. Mary assumed it in the sense in which it was first given, and as implying her intention of restoring and defending the Catholic Faith.

of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," but omits the words Supreme Head or Governor. He exhorts her to defend the old Catholic Faith, saying "so shall you draw in one line with all Christian princes that be in Europe at this day of any name or regard, according to the precedents and examples of all your noble progenitors." Another priest, Matthew Kellison, on the accession of King James, dedicates to him his "Survey of the New Religion." He addresses the preface to "James, by the grace of God King of Great Britian, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith." The preface is so interesting and the book so rare that some extracts from it, bearing on the present question, may be inserted:—

The very subject of my book (he writes), which is religion, seemed to require of right no other patron than your most excellent Majesty, who by office and title are the protector of Religion, the champion of the Church, the Defender of the Faith.

He tells him that public prayers by the Pope's command were offered for him, and that he has been specially gifted and protected by God:—

And that God hath called you out for some good purpose, and that your Highness, to show yourself grateful unto Him, will employ yourself in more honourable service for that Church and Faith of which you are called the Defender.

He reminds the king of the zeal of his royal ancestors, Malcolm and St. Margaret, of "James IV., your great-grandfather, surnamed Protector of the Faith," and of his "holy and martyred mother."

I have heard of (*i.e.*, from) some that were belonging to her, and entertained by her, when she was rather detained than entertained in England, that she spent many hours in prayer, shed many tears of sorrow, gave great alms of charity, and used divers means of providence, that your Majesty might be made a Catholic; and amongst others she devised the means that you should be baptised and confirmed by a Catholic bishop. That ran still in her mind, that was deepest in her heart and oftenest in her mouth, for that she fetched many a sigh and sighed out many a wish, and that also by her last will and testament she commended to your Majesty, when going to the stage to act that bloody tragedy, which she performed so happily, she commanded her man Melvin to desire your Grace, in so gracious a mother's name, to serve God religiously, to defend the Catholic Faith manfully, and to govern your kingdom peaceably.

He reminds the king that Catholics in England are still very numerous, "yea a greater part are we than any particular sect in your Majesty's realm." He also tells him that should he perse-

cute, he will yet not succeed in destroying Catholics, and proves this, among other reasons, from English history :

Because, notwithstanding so many confiscations of their goods, so many confinings, imprisonments, and banishments of their persons, so many tortures and deaths of their bodies, Catholics and Catholic priests are more at this present in your realm than they were forty years since.

Lastly, he reminds him that

the kings of England, from King Henry VIII., your Grace's great-uncle, for his Catholic and learned book written against Luther, and other his most honourable services which he once performed for the Catholic Church, are called Defenders of the Faith—that is, the Catholic Faith.

To return now to the book of Henry. Before describing its contents we must examine the question of its authorship. A recent Catholic writer of great learning says : “ The book which the king presented to the Pope as his own is now generally believed to have been the work of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.”* If this is the case, we must state the reasons of our dissent from the general opinion. It seemed so improbable, at the time of its publication, that the young king should have written such a book, that its authorship became at once a matter of conjecture. Luther attributed it to Lee, others to Erasmus, others to More or Wolsey. Let us go back to contemporary authority, and begin with Erasmus.

Erasmus wrote to Richard Pace on August 23, 1521 :—

The book which his royal Majesty has written against Luther I have merely seen in the hands of the Apostolic Nuncio, Marinus. I am eagerly longing to read it. I doubt not that it is worthy of his great talents, which succeed wonderfully in whatever direction he exerts them. Formerly, if a king by force of arms delivered Christians from the yoke of their enemies, he was looked upon as a prodigy of piety and worthy of canonization. But Henry VIII. fights by his talents and his pen for the spouse of Christ, which is proof enough of what he would do were arms required. Indeed what he has done is much more difficult, and will gain him more solid and more singular praise. . . . I hope this beautiful and rare example will provoke princes to emulate it. But will not priests, monks, bishops henceforth be ashamed to be ignorant in theology, when they see so great a king, so young, so busy to have advanced so far in the knowledge of sacred letters, that he can come to the succour of religion by his books? I doubt not that he has succeeded better than some who have hitherto attempted it. But I will write with more certainty when I have devoured the book, which I greatly long to do. The Cardinal of York has promised to send me a copy.†

* Note of Mr. David Lewis to Sanders' “ Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism,” p. 21.

† Epistola 589.

On the same day he wrote in almost the same terms to Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but added that "from the account given him by the courtiers, especially by Mountjoy, he is persuaded that the book has been written by the King himself" (*ipsius marte*).*

Much of this was probably flattery intended to come under the king's eye. But in September, 1522, when he had had time to read the book, he wrote to Duke George of Saxony:—

I have never doubted that the book, which you rightly praise, of the King of England, is the work of him whose name it bears. That prince has a happy and versatile genius, which succeeds wonderfully in whatever it undertakes. When he was a boy he cultivated diligently his style, and even wrote some letters to me. A few years ago he composed a theological disputation, as to "Whether a Layman is Bound to Vocal Prayer." He is fond of the books of scholastic theologians, and is wont to discuss theological questions at his banquets. Sometimes literary contentions are protracted till late at night. His queen also is elegantly learned. But if he has been helped at all in that book, he had no need of my assistance, since his court is filled with men both very learned and very skilled in writing. If his style is not altogether unlike mine, that is not so strange, since when he was a boy he diligently studied my treatises, being incited thereto by William Mountjoy, formerly my pupil, and then the king's companion in study.†

It may be thought that Erasmus was indulging in irony when he admitted that there could be any similarity between his style and that of the king. Yet there is no reason for such an interpretation. The style of the king's book is very good, otherwise it would not even now be attributed sometimes to More, sometimes to Fisher, sometimes to Lee. Certainly when it appeared it was generally thought that Erasmus had given his help. In 1522 he wrote from Basle to his friend Glapion:

Both at Rome and here some suspect the book to be mine. Such suspicions would indeed be fortunate for me, if they only changed their place, that is, if the English suspected what the Germans suspect.‡

The meaning of these last words is seen from a letter written to Erasmus by Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of London, on July, 1523, from which it appears that while in Germany Erasmus was suspected of helping Henry to write against Luther, in England he was suspected of having helped Luther to pen his scurrilous reply to Henry. He had written to the King to clear himself.§

We may then set aside Erasmus. As to Lee, Luther had no

* Epistola 590.

‡ *Ibid.* 645.

† *Ibid.* 635.

§ *Ibid.* 656, inter Ep. Erasmi.

grounds whatever for such a suspicion, which was probably also a mere make-believe. In any case no one upholds this view at present.

Dr. Lingard says that it was at the time the opinion of the public that if Henry composed the book, yet it was planned, revised and improved by the superior judgment of Cardinal Wolsey and of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and in support of this view he quotes the words of Sir Thomas More, that "by his Grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, he (More) was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained."

Lord Herbert of Cherbery writes:—

I cannot believe that Fisher was the author (as Sanders and Bellarmine will have it), or Sir Thomas More (as others say), though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the King's favour, and where it was needful also interpose their judgment.*

The author of a contemporary account of Fisher, quoted by Mr. Pococke, says that Henry summoned Fisher to London, and is believed to have been especially helped by him. Mr. Pococke himself judges that the Latin publications attributed to Henry were not entirely his own composition, as the style is much above what he could have produced. He says that Henry had a hand in the compiling of a book called "The Glass of Truth," and that "the work has as much right to be considered the king's as the 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum' which bears his name."†

It is right, however, that we should hear Fisher and Henry, for it will be noticed that, with the exception of the quotation from Sir Thomas More, all these criticisms contain little besides conjecture.

Fisher, in his "Defence of the Assertions of the King of England," rebukes Luther for calling the king "a rude and unlearned layman," and adds, "would that we who are priests were not far below him both in erudition and in eloquence."‡ In his book against Ecolampadius, he says that Henry merits the first place among the defenders of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, and has well won his title of Defender of the Faith." It would be well if the Germans would read his lucubrations against Luther more diligently."§

In a work written very soon after the grant of the title Fisher writes of Henry's work in such terms that to us it seems certain he could have had but a slight share, if any, in its composition.

* "Life of Henry VIII." (1649), p. 392.

† Preface to Records in his edition of Burnet, p. 23.

‡ "Assertionum Defensio," cap. 3, n. 16.

§ "De Veritate Corporis Christi." Preface to Book I.

The king (he says) has borne witness to the orthodox faith, and that so splendidly and fully, that one knows not which most to admire, his talent, his learning, or his eloquence, to say nothing of other qualities, lest I should seem to flatter.*

Can any one, who knows the modesty and truthfulness of Fisher, believe that he would thus praise his own work, or that he could have looked the king in the face if he had done so? At the end of the preface he says the king is now called Defender of the Faith, *suus meritis*. Again, in his sermon against Luther, preached within the Octave of the Ascension, 1521, he says:—

But touching these sacraments, the king's Grace our Sovereign Lord in his own person hath with his pen so substantially foughten against Martin Luther, that I doubt not but every true Christian man that shall read his book shall see those blessed sacraments cleared and delivered from the slanderous mouth and cruel teeth that Martin Luther hath set upon them. Wherein all England may take comfort, and specially all those that love learning.†

The words of Henry himself are also quite explicit:—

Now, however much you may pretend to believe that the book published by me is not mine, but forged in my name by cunning sophists, yet many far more worthy of credence than your "trustworthy witnesses" know it to be mine; and I myself acknowledge it, and that all the more gladly that it is less pleasing to you. For as to what you write that the book is a dishonour to me, every one understands, however much you dissemble it, how vexed you are that my book has been approved by the general consent of so many good and learned men, as well as by the honourable judgment of that See which, though it has condemned your heresies, yet was of so great authority in the esteem of St. Jerome, that he thought it sufficient if he could approve his faith to that See. Yet I do not boast much of these honours, since I am accustomed (and pray God that I may ever continue) to make all the glory and honour of my works to consist in being acceptable to God.‡

We conclude then that, unless Fisher and the king are both liars, and lied knowingly in each other's presence, Henry in claiming the authorship, and Fisher in attributing the work to Henry, it cannot be the work of the Bishop of Rochester, but is Henry's own, though others may have given him theological and literary help.

* "Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio."

† Fisher's English Works (Early English Text Society), p. 327. This sermon was preached before Henry's book was finished. This passage must have been added when his sermon was being printed, after Henry's book had appeared in August.

‡ Regis Angliæ Responsio ad M. Luth Ep., p. 106, ed. 1562.

A further and to us a conclusive argument that the book is really Henry's is in this, that the style is similar to his letter addressed to Luther written in 1526. By style we mean both the Latin construction and the personal characteristics. Now we are not aware that any one has attributed this second work either to Fisher or to More; and those who will read it will feel that the king must have written or dictated the substance of it, though perhaps his secretary, Richard Pace, may have polished the Latin style. The same remark may be made as to many passages of the first work. The English reader may form some judgment from the passages we shall quote from both of these works. We must first explain that the title of the book that was offered to the Pope in 1521 is in Latin: "*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*;" or "*A Defence of the Seven Sacraments.*" To this Luther wrote a very scurrilous answer, followed not long after by a most humble apology. It was in answer to this apology that Henry wrote a letter or treatise, published in 1526, with the title "*Literarum quibus invictissimus Princeps Henricus, etc., respondit ad quamdam epistolam M. Lutheri exemplum*;" or "*A copy of the Letter in which Henry, &c., has replied to a certain epistle of M. Luther.*" This second work is rarely referred to, and is perhaps still more rarely read than the first. It is, however, more interesting at the present day. It is from this we have quoted Henry's vindication of the authorship of his first book; and we shall give some further extracts, referring to the respective treatises as "*Assertio*" and "*Responsio.*"*

We do not propose to examine the value of Henry's arguments against Luther, nor will it for our purpose be necessary to take any notice of the book of Luther's to which Henry's is a reply. Pope Leo X. declared that the king's book contained "an admirable doctrine," and granted an Indulgence to those who should read it. Mr. Brewer's estimate of the king's work is not a high one:—

It contained nothing (he says) that could enlighten the consciences of men, or shake the convictions of those who had already adopted the Lutheran doctrines. It reproduced, without novelty or energy, the old commonplaces of authority, tradition, and general consent. The cardinal principles of Luther's teaching the king did not understand, and did not therefore attempt to confute. Contented to point out the mere straws on the surface of the current—the apparent incon-

* Both books went through several editions in England and on the Continent. The "*Assertio*" was first translated in the time of James II. and twice printed. It was republished in the appendix to Hornihold's work on the Sacraments in 1821. We have preferred to translate anew.

sistencies of Luther, his immoderate language, his disparagement of authority—the royal controversialist never travels beyond the familiar round; and reproduces, without force, originality, or feeling, the weary topics he had picked up, without much thought or research, from the theological manuals of the day. Even when discussing the Papal supremacy he puts on the blinkers with his harness, and is as docile and as orthodox as if he had never opposed the publication of a Papal Bull, or refused admission to a Papal Nuncio.*

With this estimate we cannot agree. It makes us doubt whether Mr. Brewer had done more than turn hastily over the leaves of Henry's treatise. It may not indeed be a profound study of the sacraments like the work of a professed theologian, yet it is anything rather than the reproduction of an ordinary manual. It has in many parts a marked originality, and does not let us forget the position or the character of its writer. It is true that the king does not grapple with the positive system of Luther, but merely with his negations of Catholic doctrine. But at that date Luther had not formulated his system of faith and justification in any intelligible manner; and it is hard to blame Henry for not seizing intuitively, amidst the contradictory utterances of Luther up to the year 1520, a view of Christianity that the world had never before dreamt of, that had no parallel or even germ in ancient heresies, and that its author as yet only dimly conceived.

It is not, however, for the confutation of Lutheran negations or assertions that any one would now consult the "Assertio" of Henry VIII. Whatever value it may have had in 1521, it has long since been superseded as a treatise on the Sacraments or as a manual of controversy. Its whole interest now lies in its author and his subsequent career. Henry's condemnations, oburgations and appeals remind the modern reader less of Luther's extravagancies than of Henry's own. It is as the Defender of the Faith against himself that Henry shows to best advantage in this famous volume. Henry's name is most associated with the rupture with the Holy See and the national repudiation of the supremacy of Rome. Luckily he has been very explicit on this subject. Henry calls the Pope "the chief bishop" (ch. i.), "Christ's Vicar in that Church over which Christ is the Head" (ch. xii.), he is "the supreme judge on earth" (ch. ii.), "the successor of St. Peter, Christ's Vicar, to whom as to the Prince of the Apostles it is believed that Christ gave the keys of the Church" (ch. v.). But let us hear him discourse on the Papal authority expressly. In his first work he writes:—

I will not offer such an insult to the Pope as to dispute anxiously

* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 607.

and minutely about his rights, as if the matter could be considered doubtful. Luther cannot deny that every orthodox church acknowledges and venerates the most holy Roman See as mother and head (*primate*), unless indeed by distance or intervening dangers some are prevented from access to her. Hence if the Roman Pontiff has acquired this great and world-wide power, neither by the command of God, nor even by the consent of men, but by his own violence, as Luther pretends, then I would ask him to inform us at what period he seized this vast dominion? The beginning of so mighty a power cannot surely be obscure, especially if it has taken place in modern times. But even if it took place more than one or two ages ago, he may certainly give an account of it from history. If, however, it is so ancient that its origin is forgotten, then he ought to know that it is a fixed and universal principle of all laws that a power or right which so transcends the memory of men, that its beginning cannot be ascertained, must ever be held to have begun lawfully; so that it is forbidden by the consent of all nations to overthrow what has long remained unmoved.

But most certainly if any one will examine the records of antiquity, he will find that long ago, immediately after the cessation of persecution (*protinus post pacatum orbem*), almost all the churches of the Christian world obeyed the Roman Church, nay even Greece herself, though the empire had been transferred thither, yielded to the Roman Church in whatever regarded the Primacy, except in times of some violent schism.

St. Jerome shows clearly what judgment he formed of the authority of the Roman See, since, though he was not himself a Roman, yet he openly declares that it is enough for him if the Pope of Rome approves his faith, whoever else may find fault with it.

Now, as Luther so impudently lays down that the Pope has no right whatever over the Catholic Church, even by human law, but has acquired his tyranny by mere force, I greatly marvel that he should deem his readers so credulous or so stupid as to believe that an unarmed priest, alone, and without followers—and such he must have been in Luther's supposition before he obtained the power which he invaded—could ever even have hoped to acquire such an empire, being without rights and without title, over so many bishops who were his equals, and over so many and far separated nations. Nay, more than this, how can any one believe that all peoples, cities, provinces and kingdoms were so prodigal of their property, their rights, and their liberty, as to give to a foreign priest, to whom they owed nothing, more power than he himself ever dared to hope for? But what matters it what Luther thinks? In his anger and envy he does not know himself what he thinks, but shows that his science has been clouded, and his foolish heart darkened, and that he has been given up to a reprobate sense, to do and say what is unseemly. How true is the saying of the Apostle: If I should have the gift of prophecy and know all mysteries and all science, and if I should have all faith so as to move mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And how far

from charity this man is, is evident from this, not only that in his madness he destroys himself, but still more that he endeavours to draw all others with him to perdition, since he strives to turn all from their obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. . . .

He does not consider that, if it is provided in Deuteronomy (xvii. 12) that he that will be proud and refuse to obey the commandment of the priests, who ministereth at that time to the Lord and the decree of the judge, that man shall die; *what horrible punishment he must deserve, who refuses to obey the highest priest of all, and the supreme judge on earth.* . . . Yet Luther, as far as in him lies, disturbs the whole church, and seduces the whole body to rebel against its head, to rebel against whom is like the sin of witchcraft, and like the crime of idolatry to refuse to obey (1 Kings xv. 23).

Wherefore, since Luther, hurried along by his hatred, casts himself into destruction, and refuses to be subject to the law of God, setting up his own instead, let us, on the other hand, the followers of Christ, be on our guard, lest (as the Apostle says) by the disobedience of one man many be made sinners.*

Thus the king wrote in 1521. Can any one fail to see in these words a divinely pre-ordained commentary on the Oath of Supremacy which was afterwards required? It ran thus :—

I, A. B., *having now the veil of the darkness of the usurped power, authority and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome, clearly taken away from mine eyes*, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that neither the See nor the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potentate hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power or authority, within this realm, neither by God's law, nor by any other just law or means. And though by sufferance and abuse in times past, they, aforesaid, *have usurped and vindicated a feigned and an unlawful power and jurisdiction within this realm, which hath been supported till for years past.* . . . I therefore, now do clearly and frankly denounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake that pretended authority, power and jurisdiction &c.†

To use Mr. Brewer's metaphor, we would ask whether Henry "put on the blinkers with his harness," or rather when he threw his harness aside?

Katharine Parr, after her marriage with Henry VIII. in 1543, wrote a book called "The Lamentations of a Sinner." She thus compliments her royal husband :—

Thanks be given to the Lord that He hath now sent us such a godly and learned king in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's Word, hath taken away the veils and mists of error, and brought as to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's Word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well-nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food, such was

* "Assertio."

† Stat. 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1. sec. 11.

the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh: I mean by this Moses king Henry VIII., my most sovereign favourable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses's conquest over Pharaoh; and I mean by this Pharaoh the Bishop of Rome, who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel.

The biographer of Katherine Parr, Miss Strickland, admits that this is "gross flattery," yet she has compared Katherine's relations with Henry to those of Esther with King Ahasuerus. Esther did indeed pray to God: "Give me a well ordered speech in my mouth in the presence of the lion" (ch. xiv. 13), and when the lion scowled at her and she fainted away, she compared the brightness of his majesty to that of an angel, and told him that his face was full of graces (ch. xv. 16, 17). To compare the terror caused by a king, or the splendour of his appearance, to that of an angel, especially of such an angel as that heathen king imagined, was quite lawful and "well ordered," but to compare the monster whose life was now near its end, and all whose crimes were known to Katharine, to Moses, was a blasphemy only equalled by that of comparing the Pope to Pharaoh. And this very Henry, to whom this loathsome flattery and still more loathsome scurrility was now so grateful, had himself grown indignant with Luther for writing of the Babylonian captivity:—

What more venomous serpent ever crept into the house of God (he writes in 1521) than this man who has written about the Babylonish captivity of the Church, who twists the Holy Scripture out of its sense against the sacraments of Christ, who mocks at the ecclesiastical ceremonies handed down by ancient fathers, who calls the most holy See of Rome Babylon, and the supreme Pontificate a tyranny, who condemns the most wholesome discipline of the church as a slavery, and nicknames as Antichrist the venerable Pontiff. O detestable trumpeter of pride and contumely and schism! What wolf of hell is this, who seeks thus to scatter the flock of Christ! What a limb of Satan who would separate from their Head the members of Christ! . . . Oh! how much more likely is it that one wretched friar is a diseased sheep, than that so many Pontiffs have been faithless shepherds.*

And may we not add, how much more likely is it that the king should have been right when living in chastity with his lawful wife than when blinded by adultery and filled with insane rage against that power which refused to sanction his lust?

It happens curiously enough that Luther also wrote in re-

* "Assertio."

verential terms of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and that Henry has reproached him with the inconsistency of his conduct and language:—

Formerly (says the royal Caiaphas) Luther wrote against the Bohemians that they sinned damnably who did not obey the Pope. Having written those things so short a time before, he now embraces what he then detested. The like stability he hath in this, that after he preached in a sermon to the people that "excommunication is a medicine, and to be suffered with patience and obedience," he himself, being for very good cause; a while after, excommunicated, was so impatient of that sentence, that, mad with rage, he breaks forth into insupportable contumelies, reproaches and blasphemies; so that by his fury it plainly appears that those *who are driven from the bosom of their holy mother the Church, are immediately seized and possessed with furies and tormented by devils.* But I ask this: he that saw these things so short a while since, how is it that he becomes of opinion that then he saw nothing at all? What new eyes has he got? Is his sight more sharp after he has joined anger to his wonted pride, and has added hatred to both? *

One would be glad to know whether Henry, after being excommunicated, ever re-read his own book, and what were his reflections thereon. Certainly these words were penned as if to refute beforehand Mr. Brewer's theory of the "blinkers."

When the Commons presented a supplication to Henry VIII. in 1532 against certain abuses among the clergy, an answer was prepared by the Ordinaries, in the preparation or correction of which Bishop Gardiner took a leading part. Henry was displeased with the answer, and, through Edward Fox his almoner, made known his displeasure to Gardiner. Gardiner vindicated himself in a letter, in which, among other things he says:—

That he had thought he was supported in what he had written by the king himself in his book against Luther, which in his judgment clearly approved the position taken by the clergy. . . . If his Grace could now prove the contrary, he himself was not to be blamed, since he could know nothing of his Grace's proofs and was not learned in divinity.†

So also, in the second answer of the Ordinaries, they defended their spiritual jurisdiction by an appeal to Henry's book, "which book they reckoned that his Highness could not of his honour, nor of his goodness would, revoke."‡

* "Assertio."

† Rev. R. W. Dixon's "History of the Church of England," vol. i. p. 98. He refers to Wilkins, iii. p. 748. Some words omitted in the text refer to another book.

‡ *Ibid.* Wilkins, iii. 75.

But there were other matters in Henry's book besides that of the Pope's supremacy that he must in his later years have dreaded to have brought up against himself. He had once bantered Luther that, extolling as he did the power of Faith, and founding a new church, he yet worked no miracles :—

I wonder (he writes) that you at least do not raise up some dying man. We are daily listening for rumours from Germany of men being raised from the tomb, and yet we not only hear of no one being cured, but of good and innocent priests cruelly slain. This is no doubt in order to teach us that Order is no sacrament, that the priestly character is a figment, and that David was too timid when he was sorry for having touched the anointed of the Lord.*

Yet the man who wrote these words beheaded the bishop who was the glory of his Church and the adviser of his youth ; and hung his wife's confessor, Friar Forest, by a chain round his body to roast to death, for asserting that supremacy of the Pope on which he had himself once so strongly written, the fire being fed with images that Henry had once venerated.

Again Henry set up as a reformer of the Church and of the clergy, and first rebuked and then suppressed the religious orders. Let us hear him, writing on this subject to Luther, in the letter addressed to him in 1526 :—

As to the scurrilities which you write against the Roman Church and her clergy, I have no intention of disputing on that matter with an insignificant friar. Whatever they may be, you show clearly enough what you are. Since you wish to be considered so perfect a gossamer, you would have done better had you learnt from the Gospel first to remove the beam from your own eye before taking the mote from the eye of another. You would have done well also to weigh diligently from the history of those who enviously and maliciously murmured against Moses, and cast insults upon David, what end awaits such as are contumelious against those whom they are bound reverently to obey. You might have learnt also, even if the Church seemed to you somewhat to totter, that you should have restrained yourself, and not have been so desperately bold as to dare to touch it, and to set it right with your crooked and polluted fingers, lest God teach you modesty and remind you of your duty, as He once taught Osa, when he dared, without permission, to put out his hand to support the ark of the covenant when it seemed to be toppling over.

But after all, though the mania has seized you of insulting the Roman court, your doctrine and your life both show clearly enough, that were the Curia so bad as you pretend, it could not be displeasing to you. For since all the worst apostates, who have cast off their vows

* "Assertio."

and rejected a more perfect life, and giving up their spiritual aspirations have devoted themselves altogether to the pleasures of the flesh, since all these are most dear to you; and, on the other hand, all good men who are eager for piety, are by you and your wicked faction every day *most cruelly driven from the homes* where in prayer, fasting, and chastity they had chosen to devote their whole life to the worship of God; and since *the most holy temples have been emptied of the choirs of consecrated virgins*, and are given up to impurity and prostitution; does not all this conduct of yours prove, beyond all doubt, that no one is hateful to you because he is wicked, but that all those are your real enemies who are virtuous, and therefore opposed to your doctrine and manner of life. For no other reason do you murmur against the Apostolic See, than because you are angry at seeing that it condemns your impious heresies. So that it might well answer you, "Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord" (Exod. xvi. 8). Then, looking up to Christ, whose Vicar he is, the Pope may say, "O Lord, God of Heaven, humble those who presume of themselves and trust in their own strength" (Judith vi. 15).*

There is one more subject on which we may compare Henry's words and conduct. This is Marriage. With regard to its sanctity he writes:—

God has made marriage, by means of sacramental grace, a remedy against lust, so that, *unless a man, like the prodigal son, choose to squander his father's inheritance in neglect*, grace not only restrains him from thirsting for stolen waters from the cisterns of others, but makes him drink of his own so soberly and healthfully as to profit by them to eternal life.†

As regards Divorce, Henry thus wrote in 1521, before he had met with Anne Boleyn:—

The heathen were wont by human laws to take wives and cast them off. But in the people of God it was formerly not lawful to separate those who were joined in matrimony. And if God, by Moses, allowed the Hebrews to give a bill of divorce, Christ teaches that the permission was given on account of the hardness of the people, *for otherwise they would have killed the wives that did not please them*. But from the beginning it was not so. And Christ recalled Christians to the original sanctity of marriage.

Further on, after quoting our Lord's words: "Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder," Henry exclaims:—

O, the admirable word, which none could have spoken but the Word that was made flesh! O, word full of joy and fear as it is of admiration! Who should not rejoice that God has so much care of his marriage as to vouchsafe, not only to be present at it, but also to preside in it? Who should not tremble when he is bound not only

* "Responsio."

† "Assertio."

to love his wife, but to live with her in such a manner as that he may be able to render her pure and immaculate to God, from whom he received her?

To these extracts from his first book we must add one from his second, after the news of Luther's marriage had reached England :—

You write to me, Luther, that you are exceedingly ashamed even to raise your eyes towards me, because you suffered yourself so easily to be excited against me by workers of iniquity, as you call them. But I am much more surprised that you are not seriously ashamed to raise your eyes to God or to any honest man, since you have allowed yourself, at the instigation of the devil, to fall into such folly that, for the sake of unbecoming and obscene pleasures of the flesh, you, Augustinian friar though you are, have violated a nun consecrated to God. Nay, you have not only violated her—a crime which had you committed it of old time among Roman heathen, she would have been burned alive and you scourged to death, but you have even (which is too execrable!) publicly taken her for your wife in most impure marriage, and now openly, to the astonishment of the whole world, to your own infamy throughout the world, and to the great dishonour of holy matrimony, and insult to your holy vows, continue to keep and abuse her as your perpetual prostitute. And what is even still more abominable, when shame and sorrow ought to overwhelm you for your execrable crime, instead of repenting, you boast most impudently and are so far from seeking pardon, that, by your books and letters, you seek to draw other false monks to imitate your example.

Seven years had not passed from the publication of this energetic language, when its writer sacrilegiously raised an impure priest, who had violated his vow of celibacy by a secret marriage, to the See of St. Augustine of Canterbury, in order that he might pronounce a cowardly and unjust decree of divorce from Katharine, after the hand of the writer of those words had already been joined in adulterous marriage with that of Anne Boleyn. The Defender of the Faith became the enemy of the Church, but his words remain to vindicate her cause and to testify for ever against himself. We shall conclude our article by the words with which Henry concluded his first work :—

When Luther (read Henry instead) felt that he was cast out of the society of the faithful, he began to do as the impious, who when they have come to the lowest depth, despise it. He did not mourn over his fall, thinking how he had exalted himself like Lucifer, and like Lucifer had fallen headlong, as the lightning from heaven. He imitated the desperation of the devil, becoming a devil (*diabolus*); that is to say, a calumniator himself, and began to pour out blasphemies and calumnies against the Sovereign Pontiff; and filled with envy of the faithful, like the old serpent, he lay snares of infidelity for them, that he might get them to taste of the forbidden fruit of evil knowledge, and thus be

expelled from the paradise of the Church (from which he had been ejected) into a land bringing forth thorns and thistles.

I confess that I greatly pity such madness and so miserable a fall, and I heartily desire that even yet, by the assistance of God's grace, he may come to his senses, and be converted and live. And this I desire not only for his own sake—though for his sake also, since I would wish all men to be saved if so it might be—but I wish that being at length converted, and like the prodigal son returning to the mercy of his loving father, and confessing his error, he may bring back those whom he has led astray. However, if he is so utterly doomed that now "the pit" of impiety and desperation "has shut its mouth upon him" (Ps. lxxviii, 16), let him bluster, slander, rave as he will, and "he that is filthy let him be filthy still" (Apoc. xxii. 11). But all other Christians I beseech, and by the bowels of Christ, whose faith we profess, I entreat to turn their ears from his impious words, not to nourish schisms and strife, especially at this time, when Christians ought especially to be united against the enemies of Christ. Let them not listen to the insults and detractions against the Vicar of Christ, which the rage of this friar (read king) pours out. Let them not stain with impious heresies the hearts that are consecrated to Christ.

The words are excellent and true. Alas! that the man who wrote them should have made so miserable an end. Had he then died he would have left behind him one of the most glorious names in English royal annals. Whence, then, the contrast between the earlier and the later years of his reign? In the appendix to the first volume of Tierney's edition of Dodd's "Church History" will be found a series of letters addressed to Anne Boleyn by Henry, at the very time that he was frequenting those sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion which he had so nobly vindicated in writing. Those who will take the trouble to read those vile letters and see how the adulterous king puts up his blasphemous prayers to God for the success of his intrigue, will require no further explanation. Sacrilegious communions, the result of unmortified passions, explain the fall of the Defender of the Faith, as of many another before and since; but his very fall adds another proof to the majesty and sanctity of the sacraments he defended and profaned.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R.



ART. II.—MRS. INCHBALD.

1. *The Literary History of England, 1790–1825.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. In 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.
2. *Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald.* By JAMES BOADEN, Esq. In 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1833.
3. *The Lives of the Kembles.* By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A. In 2 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.
4. *English Literature.* By the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A., Macmillan & Co. 1877.

THREE years ago there appeared in this REVIEW * an article by John Charles Earle on "Englishmen of Letters." Its scope was to show how English literature had been modified by Catholic writers. Few men in England are more competent to treat such a theme than Mr. Earle, himself a Catholic, and a well-known man of letters. Yet it seemed to me that he omitted from his roll of Catholic writers one name which well deserved commemoration; that of Elizabeth Inchbald, a woman of original genius, striking character and a devout Catholic. Ninety years have gone since "A Simple Story" was published, and it still retains its freshness.† In her lifetime its author was crowned with the admiration of her contemporaries. Her beauty, her wit, the *piquante* charm of her manner, her great conversational powers, made her the centre and queen of every gathering she attended; and to every social gathering she received an eager welcome. "I have heard," writes Mrs. Shelley, "that a rival beauty of her day pettishly complained that when Mrs. Inchbald came into a room and sat in a chair in the middle of it, as was her wont, every man gathered round it, and it was in vain for any other woman to attempt to gain attention."‡ Favourable criticism from her lips made authors, whose names are household words among us, prouder than did the praise of more renowned celebrities. "Talking of vanity," says Byron in his Journal, "Whose praise do I prefer? Why Mrs. Inchbald's, because her 'Simple Story' and 'Nature and Art' are to me true to their titles, and consequently her short note to Rogers about the 'Giaour' delighted me more than anything except the *Edinburgh Review*."§ Maria Edgeworth is anxious to have her opinion

* DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1882.

† Since this was written, a new and daintily illustrated edition has been brought out: "A Simple Story," by Mrs. Inchbald. London: G. Routledge & Sons. 1885.

‡ "William Godwin," by C. Kegan Paul, vol. i. p. 74.

§ Moore's "Life of Byron," p. 213.

of the comic dramas because she is "one of the few persons in the world who *can* form a decided opinion, and who *will* have the courage to tell the truth to an author." * Charles Lamb, we know, could not endure literary women, but made an exception in favour of Mrs. Inchbald. Sheridan used to say she was the only authoress whose talk and society pleased him. She was the "divine Elizabeth Inchbald" to Leigh Hunt, "the dear muse" of the Kembles. "Last night my father and I," Miss Edgeworth writes, "were numbering the people we should wish to see. Our list is not very numerous, but Mrs. Inchbald is one of the first persons we at the same moment eagerly named." †

How comes it, then, that the name of such a woman conjures up to the mind of most of us no life-like personality, and that, if it were not for the seasonable appearance of a few books such as those set at the head of this paper, her very name would not be mentioned? One explanation of the fact may be found in the means taken to perpetuate her memory. At her death her papers were handed over to Mr. Boaden, Editor of the *Oracle*, and a dramatic critic, who used them with the result of what Mr. Clarke-Russell has called "the worst biography in the language." It is, indeed, little better than a meagre analysis of her Diaries, strung together by poorest narrative and feeblest reflections. There are some interesting letters of her correspondents given to the reader, but of Mrs. Inchbald's own, which he would most naturally expect, hardly any. And Mr. Boaden tells us he had some hundreds alone that had passed between this singular woman and the lady whom she nominated an executrix to her will. This is especially to be regretted, because Mrs. Inchbald was an exceptionally good letter writer. "Your letters, like your books," said Miss Edgeworth, writing to her, "are so original, so interesting, and give me so much the idea of truth and reality, that I am more and more desirous to be personally acquainted with you." ‡ She gave those letters still higher praise:—

The best thanks to you, my dear Mrs. Inchbald, for your letter, would be to have seen how much pleasure that letter gave to this whole family—father, mother, brother, sister, author! The strength and originality of your thoughts and expressions distinguish your letter from all we receive; and when we compared it with one from Walter Scott received nearly at the same time, and read both letters again, to determine which we liked best, upon the whole the preference was given, I think, by the whole breakfast-table (a full jury) to Mrs. Inchbald's. Now I must assure you that, as to quantity of praise, I believe Scott far exceeded you; and as to quality, in elegance none

* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 29.

† *Ibid.* p. 186.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 176.

can exceed him; but still, in Mrs. Inchbald's letter there was an undefinable originality, and a carelessness about her own authorship, and such warm sympathy both for the fictitious characters of which she had been reading and for that Maria Edgeworth to whom she was writing, as carried away all suffrages. We particularly like the frankness with which you find fault, and say such and such a stale trick was unworthy of us.*

An ill-done biography, even though meant to be favourable to its subject, can hardly help injuriously affecting that subject's fame and the circulation of her works. Had Mr. Boaden left Mrs. Inchbald to rest quietly in her grave, the interest she excited in her lifetime would have endured, to some extent, in the ceaseless interest raised by the perusal of her matchless tale. He must needs disappoint the expectation of her admirers, and blunt the edge of curiosity in others ready to join the throng, by covering her memory with the dullest of memoirs. We have read them through most carefully, and only after much pains can we still, behind so thick a veil, discern the bright features of the highly gifted, noble-hearted, loveable human being.

Elizabeth Simpson, known as Mrs. Inchbald, was born October 16, 1753, and died August 1, 1821. Her life of sixty-eight years was thus spread over the most stirring period of the world's history since the Reformation, including, as it did, great political, social, and literary revolutions. A Catholic may identify the religious world she moved in when we remind him that she was exactly the contemporary of Dr. Milner. Her father, a well-to-do farmer, lived at Standingfield, Bury St. Edmunds, but the refinements of a higher class than that to which he belonged adorned his home. Where a class are few in number barriers erected by rank will soon yield to the pressure of the stronger yearnings of fellowship. If neighbours of Mr. Simpson's own standing kept aloof because he was a Papist, the Catholic gentry, shunned by their Protestant equals for the same reason, visited him on friendly terms. To his quick-witted child, Elizabeth, the society of well-bred gentlefolks was in itself an education. She thus early acquired refined tastes which she never lost. As an actress, though prizing highly her profession, she invariably sought her intimate friends beyond its pale. John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons were nearly the only two actors she admitted to close friendship, and each, whilst adorning the stage by histrionic genius, would have shone by virtues and abilities in any walk of life. When she went up and down the country, a member of a strolling troupe, Mrs. Inchbald's cultivated intelligence and moral character won friends for her

* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 184.

everywhere among the better sort, who, remaining, as did so many others, her steadfast friends through life, proved safeguards against the coarser perils that beset her path. In her childhood she received little, if anything, in the way of education. She went to no school and practically taught herself to read and write. A defect in her utterance drove her into solitude, and proved, ultimately, as much a blessing as did ill health in boyhood to Scott, or his lameness to Byron. Thrown greatly upon herself for amusement, she conceived in her loneliness that passion for letters to which she owed her best resource and recreation and her after fame.

As years sped on in her solitude, imagination, under the forcing process of reading and reverie, grew with hot-bed growth. And when the girl, now on the threshold of womanhood, turned her eyes from the glowing world within her brain, created and peopled by a busy fancy, to the tameness of her domestic circle, no wonder her restless heart got dissatisfied and thirsted for some large excitement:—"She would rather die than live any longer without seeing the world." But where should she go, and how live? Residing within fifty miles of London, the great city obviously suggested itself as her goal, and it was natural enough she should think of the stage as a means of subsistence. Bury, the family post town, amongst its other attractions, contained a theatre, and Mrs. Simpson had often taken her children there to see the play. Her son George and several of his cousins were already professional actors. All the family were great readers, and not unfrequently of a winter's evening they had assembled round the fire, and some book of a dramatic nature had been read aloud. Once, on a visit to London, too, Elizabeth had met a Mr. Inchbald, an artist, like herself a Catholic, and an actor. He had fallen deeply in love with her, and now her thoughts followed him to the stage. It is true the impediment in her speech was a drawback, but she found that by application it was not altogether insurmountable. On the other hand, her appearance was much in her favour. She was nineteen years of age, tall and gracefully made, and possessing that most excellent thing in woman, a sweet voice. For years it was her husband's one aim, as an artist, to copy the regular features of her fair face, to catch the tints of her beautiful auburn hair, and the intelligence that looked through her hazel eyes; and Sir Thomas Lawrence, her friend, and the first portrait painter of his day, deemed it an honour done to his brush when she sat to him. Besides these personal advantages, the charm of most winning ways cast a fascinating spell about every man she talked to:—an insinuating manner, spiced with bright wit and humour, natural and simple withal, as the neat cotton dress she wore, in which she always

seemed to be well dressed, but which "couldn't have cost her eightpence." Her mind, then, was made up. Leaving a short note for her mother, she took the Norwich Fly early on April 10, 1772, and reached London the same day. We need not wonder if a young country girl so circumstanced, with little money in her purse, should meet with some adventures; but after ten days of no small misery, her relations in town, seeing the settled bent of her mind, wisely tried to get her an engagement at one of the theatres. Terms were soon settled with one Dodd, and an engagement agreed upon, but abruptly dissolved before the week's end. The applicant learned, to her boundless disgust, that a salary given in return for services on the boards of a theatre must be the price also of her maiden honour. "I was terrified," she wrote, "and vexed beyond measure at his behaviour." Dodd's infamous conduct met with swift and unlooked-for chastisement. Seizing a jug of hot water that happened to be by, the outraged girl dashed the scalding contents into her insulter's face, and in wrathful triumph left him to pain and shame. A year afterwards, corresponding with Bishop Hay, the eminent spiritual writer, about the state of her conscience, "that good and moderate divine," as Mr. Boaden styles him, wrote: "You know the difficulty that those in your way lie under with regard to their Christian duties; but, from the account you give, there seem to be some favourable circumstances in your case."* What all those circumstances were exactly we may not know, but may discern one at least in the above story. Underneath the soft loveliness of person and engaging manner, there lay in Mrs. Inchbald's character, like a rock beneath its trailing ivy and pretty flowers, a strong moral principle on which she could ever rely without undue trustfulness in self. Her fellow-actors, in consequence, highly esteemed as well as loved her. People noticeable for firm principle are not always thereby the most charming members of society, but no more popular personage trod the English stage than Mrs. Inchbald. A cheerful temperament enveloped her like sunlight, softening and drawing hearts; and a ready wit, charitable in spite of Mrs. Candour, amused each mind. No whisper was breathed against the purity of her life, and her judgments of others were kindly as her sympathies were broad. All her male friends, whose name was legion, were, it has been said, her lovers too; yet, by tact only equalled by her attractiveness, did she manage to maintain this wide worship with an unsullied reputation.

On June 9, 1772, she became the wife of Joseph Inchbald. On the evening of that day they were married by a Catholic

* Boaden, vol. i. p. 112.

priest, the Rev. Mr. Price, the ceremony being repeated, as was customary, in the Protestant Church the next day. Mr. Inchbald was attached to the Covent Garden Company, and went immediately with his wife to act at Bristol. September 4 found her making her *début* in Cordelia to her husband's Lear. The highest praise that can be awarded to her acting would seem to be that of decent mediocrity. In spite of earnest application and ceaseless discipline there was evident in her delivery, especially in passages needing passion and rapidity, a certain unconquerable stiffness. Her elocution was invariably correct, but its artificial smoothness betrayed the danger that lurked in a stammering tongue, and a watchfulness she dared never wholly relax. Consequently she was fettered too much to the letter of her part. But this did not hinder her from attempting a long and important roll of characters. Amongst others she played Anne Bullen in "Henry VIII.," Jane Shore, Calista in the "Fair Penitent," Desdemona, Miranda, Juliet, Imogen, Mariana, Lady Touchwood, and Mrs. Beverley. She was often congratulated with warmth and sincerity on her successful rendering of the parts she took. One critic did not hesitate to say that Mrs. Inchbald did not suffer by comparison with Mrs. Bulkeley, an excellent artist, on an occasion when the two acted together, "and that any competent manager would find her equal to a share of first-rate business." An audience, indeed, could not but receive her well, for her acting, marked at least by care and intelligence, was powerfully seconded by her face, figure, and attractive manner. Nevertheless, her reputation was not to be made as an actress.

The first four years of her theatrical life were spent in Scotland, where she and her husband were engaged in the company of a Mr. Digges. They were afterwards joined by her brother George and wife, so that they formed quite a family party. Her experience of Scotland gravely tried Mrs. Inchbald's health. In days before railways, and where the coach service itself was defective, the life of a strolling player was not one of comfort. Oftentimes, the only conveyance to be had was a rude open cart, jolting its passengers along rough roads. Three times was Mrs. Inchbald laid up with fever from severe wettings. The most noticeable personage in the troupe, she not unfrequently enkindled the enthusiasm even of a whole neighbourhood in her favour. At Dumfries the ladies of the town would not attend the representation because a play had been chosen in which she was not to appear. To gratify them, therefore, she had to do the part of Jane Shore, and when the performance was ended, a Captain Storning came forward and thanked her in the name of her fair patronesses. Indeed, her grace and loveliness awoke as much pride in the breasts of women, so long as her beauty shed

its rays on the sex in general only, as it stirred the envy of contrasted individuals.

It was during the Scotch tour she made the valuable acquaintance of Dr. Hay, Coadjutor Bishop to the Vicar Apostolic. No man has done so much for the Church in Scotland these last 300 years as this learned, laborious, and saintly bishop. We cannot doubt but that his influence over the young English actress who came to him for spiritual counsel was deep and lasting. If she left the world in the latter years of her life, and gave herself wholly to God, we may seek the roots of her piety in this period of her career. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of practising her religion incident to her profession, she seems, on the whole, to have gone to her Sunday Mass, and attended the Sacraments with fair regularity. Over and above these difficulties there were those resulting from the state of Catholicism in Scotland at the time. Chapels were very few and far between, and priests as scarce. It is interesting to read of an actress, under such circumstances, going to chapel thrice on one day, besides reading a pious book at home, and praying privately. But what "a dome of many-coloured glass" is our life at best. In the page of her diary, where she records these her good deeds, Mrs. Inchbald tells how next day she and her husband "quarrelled violently over parting of salary."

The pious actress was also an eager reader of books of travel. She learned French, too, taking lessons of a master and talking French to a lady friend to perfect herself in pronunciation. But she was desirous of acquiring that thorough knowledge of the language which could only be had in France. To France, accordingly, she and her husband resolved to go, half intending, should circumstances prove favourable, to take up a permanent abode there. Abroad, they would be free and encouraged to practise their holy religion. The husband might work at his painting, and the early desires of authorship were awakening his partner's literary ambition. But a sum of money was needed as a basis to the venture, and the sum, expected from the farm at Standingfield, never came. Their visit was thus cut down to one of nine weeks. And after a stay crammed with sight-seeing and rich in enjoyment, the two visitors left Paris with all but an empty purse. They crossed to Brighton, where their fortune reached its lowest ebb. Several times they had to go dinnerless; and once they went into the fields, so the diarest records, to appease hunger with stolen turnips. Once more they turned to the stage. Hearing of work to be done at Liverpool, they secured an engagement there with Mr. Younger. It was here that Mrs. Inchbald met Mrs. Siddons for the first time, and the two women began a warm friendship to be broken only by death

forty-five years afterwards. When the Inchbalds were introduced this greatest of English tragediennes was tempering the excitements of professional life, and relieving the strain of hard study, by the humbler duties of washing, ironing, and mending her children's clothes. In the following January, at Manchester, Mrs. Inchbald met the equally famous brother, John Kemble. John—men talked of him by his Christian name as the associate of Dryden spoke of immortal "John"—was now in the spring-time of manhood, tall and stately, with a countenance like the finest model of the antique.* He at once made an impression on the susceptible heart of Mrs. Inchbald, which in the days of her widowhood deepened into serious love.

On one occasion, when she was sitting by the fire-place in the green-room, waiting to be called upon the stage, she and Miss Mellon—afterwards Mrs. Coutts and Duchess of St. Albans—were laughingly discussing their male friends from the matrimonial point of view. My uncle John, who was standing near, excessively amused, at length said to Mrs. Inchbald, who had been comically energetic in her declarations of who she could or would, or never could or would, have married, "Well, Mrs. Inchbald, would you have had me?" "Dear heart," said the stammering beauty turning her sweet sunny face up to him, "I'd have j—j—j—jumped at you!"†

To Mrs. Inchbald the friendship of such a man as Kemble, a gentleman and a scholar, was an incalculable gain, and a pleasant picture is left us of these interesting people. They lived as one family, studied their parts together, read together, and, like the light-hearted, grown-up children that they were, when work was ended, played blindman's buff and romped in the fields. Kemble was going deeply into English history, and whilst he lectured in a familiar way Mrs. Inchbald zealously took notes and analyzed. To this habit she owed, in great measure, that store of accurate facts with which the natural eloquence of her conversation at all times abounded. Along with work and play prayer was not forgotten. When they could not hear their Sunday Mass, Mr. Inchbald read the service from the Prayer-book, his wife and Kemble devoutly listening and joining in the responses. At Birmingham, whither their means had allowed them to journey comfortably by post-chaise and horseback, this agreeable society was broken up, and broken up in a manner that throws a curious light on the strolling player—showing how precarious was his existence, how doubtful his character among his fellow-men a hundred years ago. The party was informed against and brought before the magistrates

* See Scott's Art. in the *Quarterly*.

† "Records of a Girlhood." By Frances Ann Kemble, vol. ii. p. 48.

as rogues and vagabonds. The company dispersed. Kemble and his sister journeyed northwards; with heavy hearts the Inchbalds went down to Canterbury. But the separated players kept up a frequent correspondence. "Write often," says Kemble to Mrs. Inchbald. "You would if you knew the pleasure I receive from the good style, lively ideas, and polished manner of your letters."* The uncertainty as to means of existence were now coming to a close. It was probably at Kemble's advice that Tate Wilkinson engaged the Inchbalds in his renowned company. Quite at the head of provincial managers stood Tate Wilkinson.† He was lessee of houses at York, Hull, Liverpool, and other places. An actor might well consider his position solidly established when patronized by Tate. And when the agreement with him was signed, the Inchbalds might justly reckon their struggles for daily bread at an end. After many vicissitudes, and much tossing to and fro, there had sprung up, so it seemed to them, the freshening promise of a safe and cheering voyage. They were assured of more than a competency, for over and above their salaries for acting Mr. Inchbald was adding to his income by scene-painting. Mrs. Inchbald acted for the first time in the new troupe in Kemble's own tragedy "*Belisarius*," also speaking the epilogue. But assuredly the converse to the consoling Irish proverb, "It is always the darkest the hour before dawn," holds in its lap the sad burden of an equal truth. Not till the sun reach his zenith and fill all our horizon with his brightest beams do the dark-footed shadows creep up the paling East. Fortune was now smiling its most glittering smile, when, quite suddenly, her husband died. Had a long illness prepared her for the blow she would probably have borne it when it fell with the same philosophical fortitude as Tricastin in her "*Massacre*" bore his wife's decease. Elizabeth Inchbald had never much loved her husband. But she became conscious for the first time how much her life had leaned on him, and his loss broke up hidden springs of tenderness. From the moment of their first meeting, Joseph Inchbald had been filled with a love for her that grew with advancing years: her very failings fanned the restless flame. Her temper was too variable ever to let him rest in that placid worship from which a drop to a lower stage would have been so easy. Her love of admiration drew about her a crowd of human moths, whose attentions and the responsive regard they received pierced the unhappy victim with pangs as fierce as ever tortured the more illustrious author of "*Le Prince Jaloux*." But his wife's temper and vanity were of such a nature as only to augment, not lessen, Inchbald's love.

* Boaden, vol. i. p. 93.

† See "*Lives of the Kembles*," vol. ii.

If her temper was trying—and at times it was violent, as when she once dashed to pieces a miniature of herself the fond husband had been spending days and days in painting, because he did not immediately answer the dinner-bell—yet he knew it held no malice, and her after regrets and sweetness of penitent behaviour more than made amends for the passing fit. If other men, besides himself, knelt at the shrine, no one was more aware than himself what a moral gulf there lay between her and Madame Molière. Mrs. Inchbald was too human not to be touched by the unwearying devotion of her husband. Whatever best he had of advice, whatever of protection, he had been only too glad, like a true friend, to give in time of need. And without a word of warning he was taken away. No wonder the solid ground had seemed to rock and slide from beneath her feet. The week following is “a week of grief, horror, and almost despair.” Remorse added bitterness to sorrow. Only too acutely did she realize her thoughtlessness in the past; the arrow was barbed that entered her breast. “Began this year a happy wife—finished it a wretched widow.”

But Mrs. Inchbald was not the woman to sit down idly by the roadside of life when work must be done. As soon as the first paroxysm of grief was past she set herself to a course of steady reading, finished a novel she had been engaged on for some time, began her first farce, and within three months was on the stage again. It would have been well for her if, besides work, she had leaned on that other crutch God has given to them lamed by sorrow. Peace and resignation would have settled on her soul, and work would have braced her energies. Instead of trusting to religion, she madly flung herself into the distracting dissipations of society. Mrs. Inchbald remained substantially in this state of dissipation and neglect of religion till a visit to Standingfield some two years afterwards. The absence of distracting society, the solitude of the quiet country, the recollections of her innocent childhood, the sacredness of her strong home affections, and the companionship of such fervent Catholics as Sir Thomas and Lady Gage, whose private chapel she attended, wrought a change of mind. During this period of religious apathy, she left Tate Wilkinson's company and joined that of Covent Garden under Harris. She rejected an offer of marriage, and became intimate with the Marquis of Carmarthen, Francis Twiss, and Dr. Brodie. But among the list of her new friends we must not omit the name of Thomas Holcroft, who was to become her literary adviser, and exercise some considerable influence on her opinions. Holcroft was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary talents and of even of more extraordinary application. Until his death in 1809, at the

age of sixty-four, he poured out a turbid stream of novels, plays, histories, political tracts, and translations from self-taught modern languages. After his trial for high treason, in company with Horne Tooke, he wandered about Europe with the fever of the French Revolution firing his blood and urging a rapid pen.

Holcroft was not only Mrs. Inchbald's literary adviser, but the moulder, in a measure, of her political opinions. Like all the young and ardent spirits of her generation, her mind was highly coloured by the principles that were seething in France and changing the face of its society. Her second novel, "*Nature and Art*," was written to show the fruits, respectively, of an education conducted according to old ideas, and of one fashioned after the pattern held up for admiration in Rousseau's "*Emile*," yielding, of course, the palm to the latter. With delight unfeigned her eyes followed the track of Napoleon's dazzling victories, though the war in Germany cost her two shillings in the pound. Was not Buonaparte a citizen-soldier, who, bearing in one hand the principles of '92, and a sword in the other, went forth to subdue the earth to a glorious republic of liberty, equality, and universal brotherhood? Unshaken, like so many of her countrymen, by the horrors of the Revolution and by Burke's "*Reflections*" thereon, she remained through all those terrible times as steady a democratic Whig as Charles James Fox himself.

But if Holcroft was helping Mrs. Inchbald to liberal politics, was he not her evil genius in a more serious affair? Whatever share he may have had in the ultimate wreck of her faith, it is certain that at this date it was being rudely shaken. Even when leading a stricter life, and not exposed to worse influence than those surrounding her profession, doubts against faith had assailed her. She had submitted them to Fr. Jerningham, one of the Paris Fathers, and for a time they would seem to have been driven away. But they were returning in renewed vigour, and, probably encouraged by the study of physical science which she was now eagerly following up in an uncatholic frame of mind, soon honeycombed her whole fabric of belief.

In the August of 1782 began her career as a dramatist. She had already composed several plays, but had failed hitherto in getting them accepted. She had written one called "*The Mogul Tale*," and now, by the strenuous help of two friends, Harris, of Covent Garden, not only received it, but advanced £20 upon the bargain. Pratt, the dramatist, and Sir Charles Bunbury, were the two friends who were so earnestly assisting her. Through Sir Charles's efforts the Lord Chamberlain licensed her farce. But her literary success did not interfere with her acting. She accepted an engagement in Dublin which proved a singularly happy one till its abrupt termination. Daly was the Irish

manager, and the term was to begin in November and last till May. Mrs. Inchbald travelled slowly to Dublin, stopping a month on the way at Shrewsbury. There she was a regular attendant at Sunday Mass, so that whatever tinge of scepticism was creeping over her mind, she at least clung for the present to the weighty matters of positive law. Crossing over to the Irish capital, she found Kemble, to her extreme delight, acting in the same company. They at once renewed their old intimacy, which socially proved of great service to Mrs. Inchbald. Kemble was cordially invited to the Castle, and his acquaintance sought by the rank, fashion, and cultivated intelligence of the city. Mrs. Inchbald partook of his social advantages, and a salary of £5 a week enabled her easily, with her economical habits, to sustain her improved position. But Daly, the Irish manager, too soon imitated the villany of the London manager Dodd, and that although Daly was a married man. With a heart brimful of indignation, Mrs. Inchbald instantly left Ireland, and, for a wonder, the strained relations of Kemble and Daly did not end in a second duel. The insulted actress passed through a period of deep gloom and poverty. Poor relations had drained an ever open purse: £10 had been lent to an actor named Connolly, without a prospect of its recovery, and all the landscape of her future wore a leaden hue. In leaving Dublin she had relinquished solid gain and all that money brings, and had come to a London which, in its ecstasy over the magnificent revelations of Mrs. Siddons, was without eyes or ears for another actress. In the midst of her troubles her poor mother, dearly loved, died in her home at Standingfield. It is not surprising that, steeped in dejection and bitterness as her mind was, she should have seriously talked to Sir Charles Bunbury about going out to India. But the proverb and not its melancholy reverse was to be exemplified this time. A bright dawn was breaking on her darkness, for in the spring of 1784 her reputation was practically to be made as a dramatic writer. In this interval of depression she again bravely tried to cheer her lonely hours by the companionship of books, and we may gather how wide was the circle of intellectual acquaintance by the names of some jotted down in her diary. Besides keeping abreast of the ever-rising flood of lighter literature, and taking a keen interest in the science of the day, she had read attentively, in an English or French dress, Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, Horace, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Homer, Sallust, and Lucian. English history she studied constantly and systematically, so that there was probably none living who knew the story of their country better than she. Day by day, too, did she peruse her Bible, like the devoutest English woman of the age. And happily for her; for the Sacred Book kept her heart warm and soft with holy ideas

and yearnings, so that later, in an hour of grace, the image of the Faith could more readily be revived there, fresh and bright as in youth.

Colman gave her a hundred guineas for the "Mogul Tale," and it was acted, as he had anticipated, with the greatest applause. Its broad farce much diverted the public. One of the principal characters, carried by a balloon into the gardens of the seraglio, pretends to be the Pope in order to disarm the Sultan's wrath: a tipsy cobbler, personating the Pope of Rome, in the precincts of a harem, was just the thing to raise the inextinguishable laughter of pit and gallery last century, and the idea is more creditable to Mrs. Inchbald's judgment as an artist than to her fine feelings as a Catholic. Four lines by "Father Paul" good-naturedly took the author to task:

A rank Papist born and a rank Papist bred,
By penances humbled, by *my* doctrine fed—
The Pope you burlesque, and to theatres cramm'd:
Your *farce* has been *saved* but you will be *d*—*d*!

The loud applause which greeted its appearance fell upon its author's ears as she stood upon the stage, acting one of the characters. The sweetest praise, however, came from the pen of Kemble in a letter closing with the words, "There is no woman I more truly admire, nor any man whose abilities I more highly esteem." But John, after all, never got beyond a barren admiration and fine speeches. Three years later, to everybody's astonishment—for everybody had put him down as Mrs. Inchbald's future husband—he married Mrs. Brereton, widow of the actor. The truth is, Kemble was too engrossed, as yet, with theatrical plans to hamper himself with matrimonial engagements, and he nursed, besides, a shrewd suspicion that Mrs. Inchbald's talents and temperament, so delightful in a friend, would prove troublesome in a wife. John not only acted the noble Roman to perfection, but possessed in large store the Roman's passionless good sense. When his "dear muse" had got over the pangs of disappointment she turned her eyes to the glitter of a title, and the bright position of a Lady Bunbury.

The marked success of "The Mogul Tale" strongly stimulated her mind so that it broke into luxuriant activity. It teemed with new pieces and plots for farce and comedy. Harris was "charmed" with "Appearance is Against Them," which the King commanded and the Prince of Wales honoured with a visit. Colman wrote he had never received or read any piece on which he could so immediately and decidedly pronounce it would do as "The Widow's Vow." "Animal Magnetism" was acted in 1850 at Rockingham Castle, by Charles

Dickens and his amateur company. "After consideration of forces," he says in a letter to his friend, Miss Boyle, the distinguished and accomplished amateur actress, "it has occurred to me (old Ben being, I dare say, rare; but I do know rather heavy here and there) that Mrs. Inchbald's 'Animal Magnetism,' which we have often played, will 'go' with a greater laugh than anything else. That book I will send you on Saturday too. You will find your part (Lisette, I think it is called, but it is a waiting-maid), a most admirable one; and I have seen people laugh at the piece until they have hung over the front of the boxes like ripe fruit."* But Mrs. Inchbald's highest dramatic effort was reached in "Such Things Are." Howard, the philanthropist, is the hero of the play, and a remarkable coincidence happened whilst it was still on the boards. In the piece, as he is visiting an Eastern prison, a slave is made to rob him, and whilst the play-going public was full of the comedy, the real Howard arrived in England, took the Canterbury coach for London, and was actually robbed of his papers and money as in the comedy. Of course, it helped to advertise the piece, though indeed it did not need it. It was played before a delighted public, and the author was "happy beyond expression." The King, Queen, and Princesses went to its performances. Its author saw Bow Street crowded with people unable to get into the theatre. And it brought her something more solid than renown. The proceeds reached £900. She grew light-hearted and girlish with pleasurable success. "On the 29th of June (Sunday) dined, drank tea, and supped with Mrs. Whitfield. At dark, she and I and her son William walked out. I rapped at doors in New Street and King Street, and ran away." These, and many other plays, some original and some adaptations from the French, were not produced without labour, quickly as her mind conceived them. Few men have been more strenuous workers than Mrs. Inchbald. She gradually retired from the stage, and finally quitted it altogether, betaking herself to more congenial and remunerative literature. "Solemnly dedicated to virtue and a garret," as Colman said of her, this energetic woman toiled at her desk. In a single room, on the third floor of a modest house, with closed shutters to keep out distracting sights, she read and wrote, some days for as many as fifteen hours at a stretch. She had already earned £58 a year, which supplied her with luxuries, so few and simple were her needs, but there were others, dear to her heart, of whose comfort she thought more than of her own. One of the most pleasing traits in her character was the enduring strength of her family

* "The Letters of Charles Dickens," vol. i. p. 225.

affections. Her intercourse with her relatives remained unbroken through life; her love for them showed itself in golden deeds. If she enriched herself, it was only that riches might be spent on them. Nay, she got the name of being avaricious, so eager was she to make money, but with equal eagerness did she pour out her earnings upon friend and relation. Her sister Deborah, remarkable as the prettiest member of a pretty family, and whose beauty, unfortunately, proved a fatal gift, stood too often in need of her more prudent sister's help. Elizabeth sent aid when required, though she refused to see her. During Debby's last illness it was Elizabeth who defrayed all the expenses, sent a priest to give her the Sacraments, and finally buried one whose conduct she had so strongly reprehended, but whom she had not ceased to love. It was upon Dorothy, however, that she lavished the wealth of a warm heart, and the wages of a hard life. It was for her, especially, she kept her own weekly expenses under 25s., living in a single room, and doing with her own hands much of her menial work. "Many a time this winter, when I cried with cold, I said to myself, 'But, thank God, my sister has not to stir from her room; she has her fire lighted every morning; all her provisions bought, and brought to her ready cooked; she would be less able to bear what I bear;' and how much more I should have to suffer, but from this reflection. It almost made me warm when I reflected that *she* suffered no cold."† She allowed Dorothy first an annuity of £30, raising it afterwards to £80, and finally to £100. Yet sickness so affected Dolly's temper that her society, even to her charitable and loving sister, was quite unendurable. To other needy relations Mrs. Inchbald was constantly sending handsome monetary presents. They had only to ask for help and the requested help came. To the poorer members of her profession Mrs. Inchbald was equally generous: several of them were regular pensioners of her bounty.

Whilst buoyed up on a tide of popularity gained as a dramatist, Mrs. Inchbald prudently resolved to take it at the flood, and launch forth her novel. Robinson bought it for £200, and it was published February 10, 1791. It was called "A Simple Story," and was precisely what it pretended to be, differing in its simplicity of construction from the elaborate and complicated plots of modern novels as a melody of Mozart differs from the complex harmonies of Wagner. Dorriforth, a Catholic priest, dwelling within the centre of London, "in his own prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance," is left guardian to Miss Milner, the Protestant daughter of his friend. Living under the same roof, Miss Milner, not restrained as she would have been by a Catholic

* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 206-7.

education, falls deeply in love with her guardian, but has strength enough, aided by a sensible and pious Catholic young lady, Miss Woodley, likewise a member of the same household, to conceal her ill-fated passion. On the death of the Earl of Ellmore, Dorriforth, as next-of-kin, succeeds to the title and estate. As there is now danger of both falling into Protestant hands, Rome dispenses the new Earl from his vows, and "enjoins him to marry." In due course he returns the now evident love of his ward, and their marriage takes place. One child, Lady Matilda, is the fruit of a short-lived union. During a protracted absence in the West Indies, where Lord Ellmore had gone to superintend some property, his wife falls a prey to the seductive arts of a Lord Avon, one of her former admirers. Stricken with remorse for her crime, and bowed down by shame, she flies from her husband's face on his unexpected return home. The wife's sin occasions the moral ruin of the husband's character. He drives out his child and becomes stern and unforgiving, a harsh and gloomy man. Far away, Lady Ellmore dies repentant, attended, in her dying hour, by Sandford, the gruff but tender-hearted, pious and learned Jesuit. Lord Ellmore will not see his daughter, though he maintains her through Sandford, and even allows her and Miss Woodley apartments in his own castle home. Here he lives with his nephew and heir, Henry Rushbrooke. But it is clear, in spite of a proud and hard exterior, his heart loves his only child; and the tale ends with the ultimate reconciliation of father and child, their union being cemented by the marriage of Henry Rushbrooke and Lady Matilda. Not only does the tale differ from the more modern novel in its simplicity of plot, but other contrasts between the two are noticeable. Novels, now-a-days, are oftentimes little more than vehicles of philosophical speculation or minute analysis of character, both of which ingredients are absent from "*A Simple Story*." Its author was eminently a dramatist, and the characters of her actors are best unfolded in brisk dialogue, and narrative, brief but vivid. It was in the brevity of her tale that she showed daring and originality. The eighteenth century novels of domestic life were nothing if not prolix. We almost wonder what manner of man he was who read and enjoyed "*Sir Charles Grandison*," for instance. Probably not one reader in a thousand has read, or is even capable of the heroic effort needed to wade through, those wearisome seven volumes. With the dash and courage of the *Light Brigade* Mrs. Inchbald swept down upon the heavy mass, her light volume in her hand, and courageously broke through the tiresome tradition. To be sure, learned critics fell foul of her: complainingly they drew attention to the fact that seventeen years are supposed to have elapsed between the first and second part of the tale—

far too great a call upon the imagination of an unimaginative age. It is quite true an older novelist would never have sinned after that fashion. But it is another merit of our authoress that there is not a word of "A Simple Story" the most innocent might not read. During the seventeen years we are desired to skip Lady Ellmore's fall is supposed to be compassed, and we know how even a moral writer like Richardson would have filled in those silent years. Mrs. Inchbald cuts short the loathsome business in a very few lines. There had been already one Lovelace in Romance, all whose exploits had been drawn with the minute detail of a Dutch picture, and she did not intend to paint another. Yet "A Simple Story" is emphatically a tale of passion. Mr. Stopford Brooke does not hesitate to say that it introduced the novel of passion, just as certainly as Richardson introduced the sentimental, and Mrs. Radcliffe the romantic. And herein lies Mrs. Inchbald's speciality as a novelist, and for which she will have a niche in the Hall of English Literature. Charlotte Brönte, some fifty years afterwards, and wielding a mightier pen, continued the species, and in no way meaning to lessen her originality, we think a reader would see decided points of resemblance between Rochester and Lord Ellmore. Mrs. Oliphant, in the useful and well-written book we have placed at the head of this article, speaks of "A Simple Story," "with its graceful talent and individuality," as being, compared with Miss Austen, "all of the old world, conventional, artificial, with a pretty air, if not of the Dresden Shepherdess, at least of the imitations of Chelsea and Bow."* We think Mr. Stopford Brooke's criticism goes nearer to describe the distinguishing feature and value of this celebrated novel, and true passion is not of any particular century, but of all time. And so Mrs. Inchbald broke away rather from her artificial surroundings, and shot ahead of her age.

"A Simple Story," by its pathos, its vividly drawn characters, and human interest, appealed straight to the heart of England. In eighteen days after publication a second edition was ordered, and this, be it remembered, before all the world read novels. Few writers have won so wide a fame on the score of a single tale. The deep impression it has made on some of the best critics in the language has, no doubt, materially conduced to this result. "Mrs. Inchbald was always a great favourite with me," says Hazlitt; "there is the true soul of woman breathing from what she writes as much as if you heard her voice. It is as if Venus had written books;" and he proceeds to relate how the "Simple Story" "had transported him out of himself." "I recollect walking out to escape from one of the tenderest parts," he says,

* Vol. iii. pp. 248-9.

"in order to return to it again with double relish. An old crazy hand-organ was playing 'Robin Adair,' a summer shower dropped manna on my head, and slaked my feverish thirst of happiness. The heroine, Miss Milner, was at my side."* The vivid portraiture of Lord Ellmore stamped itself on Macaulay's imagination till he took it to be the universal type of a Roman Catholic nobleman, "proud and stately, with the air of a man of rank but not of fashion," and expressed his surprise when he met Lord Clifford in Rome in 18— and found him "all quicksilver."†

A host of new friends now gathered about Mrs. Inchbald, some distinguished for their wealth and birth, others for their high place in the literary world. Instead of having to seek society, society sought her. She went to parties which the Prince of Wales attended: she was an honoured guest at the most aristocratic houses. Yet she never compromised her independence by thus mixing with those so much above her socially. Her position of equality and friendship with the titled of the land had been fairly won, and her right to be among them was recognized as due to her ability, her manners—always lady-like, if unconventional—and the integrity of an unsullied character. By no unworthy art did she try to conceal either the modesty of her hardly-earned income, or the humble position and more humble fortune of her nearest kindred. A true democrat, she strove for the honest prizes of life, and reckoned on wearing the crown by strenuous work and genuine worth. She carefully shunned those whom she thought would in any degree shackle her proud freedom by patronizing kindness. Thus she refused one noble lady's repeated invitations to her table, and would not even return her call. If Elizabeth Inchbald was received as a guest in the higher circles of life, she entered the Republic of Letters by the right of her own achieved citizenship, and henceforth she mixed freely in the cultured throng of that brilliant period of our history just opening. Judge Hardinge, the profound Shakespearean scholar, carries on a correspondence with her in a strain of mingled gallantry and criticism. Mrs. Dobson, the Petrarchian student, sends her Petrarch's "View of Human Life" and an Æolian harp, besides introducing her to Mrs. Philips, wife of the king's surgeon, who became her greatest female friend. Curran is presented to her, and on the next day sends her his "infinite admiration," good-naturedly using his kind offices towards healing the breach between her and Godwin. Sir Thomas Lawrence no sooner sees her face than he proposes to paint her portrait. She sits to Porter, the artist, by his desire,

* Mrs. Oliphant, vol. ii. p. 270-1.

† Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 31.

and her likeness is hung in the Royal Academy. Dr. Walcot, the famous Peter Pindar, falls under the spell of her enchantments, and indites impassioned verses to "Eliza." Several of her literary friends have been already mentioned: we might now add to them many names, such as Lords Erskine and Brougham, Dr. Moore, author of "Zeluco," and father of Sir John, the general, of Corunna memory, Dr. Parr, Fuseli, Horne Tooke, "Monk" Lewis, Joanna Baillie, Mrs. Radcliffe, Opie, Barbauld, Piozzi, and Cosway, the first of English miniature painters.

But better evidence of the value at which the patrons and judges of the literary world rated her genius, and one even more flattering to her vanity, was given on the projection of the *Quarterly Review*. She heard of the new idea from Hoppner, who writes:—"It being the intention of some gentlemen of the very first literary character to establish in London a quarterly review that will be patronized by people of the first distinction in the country, and cannot therefore fail of proving successful, I am requested to solicit the favour of your aid and abilities to the work on such terms as you may think proper to propose."* Murray backs up the request of Hoppner, assuring her that her "associates in the work would be, without exception, the first literary characters in this country, all of whom have written with as much anxiety and care as if their reputation depended on the anonymous criticisms they have contributed."† In spite of these tempting baits, she steadily declined assisting the enemy, and remained faithful to her politics and her "beloved *Edinburgh*."

After the publication of her novel she gave up acting entirely. Literature was pleasanter and more lucrative. Kemble, now joint manager with Sheridan, made a last vigorous effort to secure her services on the boards of Drury Lane, at a salary of six guineas a week, but she prudently refused the offer. And by keeping wholly aloof from the stage Mrs. Inchbald retained the independence dear to her heart, and in writing new plays, a new novel, and in preparing fresh editions of "A Simple Story," full employment for life lay before her. She soon asserted her ascendancy as a writer of the lighter forms of the drama. A cheque for £200 was written out for her "Wedding Day" before the play was put up for rehearsal. In "Every One has His Fault" she was still more fortunate. In Pitt's paper, *The True Briton*, a critic vigorously attacked her political principles as he thought he heard them echoed in the comedy. She sent a spirited reply to the *Diary*, and the controversy only advertised the play, which in consequence had an unprecedented run, and put in her pocket £700.

* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 115.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 116.

She was not long in discovering that she needed a more regular and generous diet for the incessant strain of severe mental work, and that household drudging was not quite compatible with constantly mixing in high life. Accordingly her weekly allowance rises to twenty-five shillings (hitherto she had lived on less), and she shares with her landlady, Mrs. Brooks, the assistance of a housemaid. Mrs. Brooks' house was in Leicester Square, right opposite the last home of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Here Mrs. Inchbald dwelt for eleven years, and sharing all Johnson's enthusiasm for the Great City, she gave her heart of hearts to Leicester Square. "I must have London, combined with the sun, the moon, and the stars, with land or with water, to fill my imagination and excite my contemplation." Leicester Square supplied, in its enclosed garden, the one strip of green earth her eye required. It had afforded her also a substitute for those maternal joys which Nature had denied her. Childless, loneliness had, since her husband's death, especially in darker hours, weighed heavily upon her spirit. Mrs. Brooks had a child, which her distinguished tenant soon loved as if it had been her own. "I was always," she wrote to a friend, "fond of children, but, till of late, I never paid any attention to them till they could speak. A child was born in this house last October, and I, having seen it every day since that time, have been so enchanted by its increasing beauty and sense that, though I have not the smallest acquaintance with either of its parents, I think I love it almost better than anything in the world. A child of this age is the most curious thing I ever met with—the most entertaining and the most affectionate. I shall never again have common patience with a mother who complains of anything but the loss of her children; so no more complaints when you see me again. Remember you have had two children, and I never had one."

In the fiftieth year of her age she left this home and went to live at Annandale House, Turnham Green, a Catholic school, where elderly ladies were taken in and boarded. But a disagreement with the head of this establishment drove her into private lodgings again; this time to the Strand. Let us hear her own description of her home here:—

My present apartment is so small that I am all over black and blue with thumping my body and limbs against my furniture on every side; but then I have not far to *walk* to reach anything I want; for I can kindle my fire as I lie in bed; and put on my cap as I dine; for the looking-glass is obliged to stand on the same table with my dinner. To be sure, if there was a fire in the night, I must inevitably be burnt, for I am at the top of the house, and so removed from the front part of it that I cannot hear the least sound of anything from the street; *but then*, I have a great deal of fresh air; more daylight than

most people in London, and the *enchanted* view of the Thames, the Surrey Hills, and of *three wind-mills*, often throwing their giant arms about, secure from every attack of the Knight of the Woeful Countenance.

From this house she saw two other sights not likely to be soon forgotten: Nelson's body carried by water and land to its final resting-place beneath the dome of St. Paul's, and the burning of Drury Lane Theatre. She wrote and told Mrs. Philips of the fire. She quitted the Strand for St. George's Row on account of the latter's neighbourhood to the chapels in South Street and Spanish Place. After descending the logical steps of neglect of religious duties, indifference, and unbelief, she had at length come round to the faith of her forefathers, and the fervent practice of its precepts. In 1787 she had had a conversation with a Rev. Mr. Wheeler, a Protestant clergyman, to whom she had opened all her doubts, and he had zealously tried to make her at least a Christian. He lent her Grotius "*On the Truth of the Christian Religion*," which she read and pencilled her observations on the margin, but we know not with what result to her unsettled frame of mind. It does not appear that scepticism had touched her belief in the more fundamental truths of religion, so that as she retained a reverence for the things of God, and prayerful desire of fuller faith, there was at least ground for Divine grace to work upon. How she groped her way through the darksome and painful passages of doubt, till at length, after tears and prayers, she emerged, erect, into the sunlight, we cannot accurately tell. We can only guess, perhaps broadly, at the difficult road she trod back to the Temple from which her steps had wandered away so far. Extracts from her diary may help us. Thus, in 1798, we have: "In the evening prayed and cried, and felt purely." In 1799: "Low, then in better spirits, said many prayers with fervour and weeping." In 1802 she resumes attendance at Mass, more regular prayers, pious reading, and examination of conscience. Then we have a touching prayer: "Almighty God! Look down upon Thy erring creature. Pity my darkness and my imperfections, and direct me to the truth! Make me humble under the difficulties which adhere to my faith, and patient under the perplexities which accompany its practice." Finally, in 1808: "Wrote to Nancy expressing my conformity to the Catholic Church;" and the battle is ended in triumph. She had lost her faith through disobeying the precepts of her Church; she regained it by obeying them. Nominally she had been a Catholic always, even in her worst days occasionally going to Mass. Being once "*planted afresh*," like the knight in the Idyll, she gave herself up to the spirit of her religion with the

energy of a singularly energetic nature. From the year 1777 to 1810 she calls her religious existence *Nothing*; the rest of her life "years of repentance." She confessed and received absolution with a feeling of intense joy; she fasted, though her abstemious life was a continuous fast, till her strength failed her. Her already heroically extensive charities were enlarged, and she nursed her confessor, the Rev. Mr. Gaffrey, through his last illness, with a mother's solicitude, closing his eyes in death. Study was not neglected, though her soul was now possessed by an overmastering passion for its highest interests. A vigorous mind has a keen appetite and needs the nutriment of an unfailing supply of books, and the supply was now well leavened with a careful selection of Catholic works. The diet gained thereby in wholesomeness. There are Butler's "Lives of the Saints," a "Life of Fénelon," Bossuet's "Variations," and all the Catholic divines in English or French she could lay her hands on. The current works of the day received, as usual, her earnest attention. "The Lady of the Lake" had just appeared, and she greatly delighted in the new poem. Her quick and true critical eye detected the genius of Wordsworth, though it came shrouded in a cloud of adverse criticism. The acquaintance of the Edgeworths had been already made, and she candidly criticizes Maria's novels, at her request, as they duly come out. By the desire of the publisher, she also reads one in manuscript of Madame D'Arblay's. Some years previously it had been whispered about that Mrs. Inchbald was engaged in writing her own "Memoirs," and the quiet whisper soon grew into common talk. The richest of treats was expected from a woman of fine observation and lively pen, whose materials were to be drawn from the social, literary, and theatrical worlds in which she had so freely mixed. The talk passed into uproar as the time of publication drew nigh, and she adroitly kept the public interest awake by skilful and amusing arts. When questioned about the forthcoming "Life" she would lift up her hands, in an attitude of comic horror, and ask, "Do you wish me to be mur-r-r-r-dered?" Many hearts had reason to be anxious over the future disclosures, knowing the candour of the writer's mind, and gay sprightliness of her tongue. The book was enlarged and made shapelier, but to a conscience now almost morbidly sensitive publication of her collection of highly seasoned ana became a questionable proceeding. One publisher, without having read a line of them, came and offered her £1,000 for her work; she hesitated, and carried her doubts to Dr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Query—What should I wish done at the point of death. Dr. P.—Do it now.—4 vols. destroyed.

All literary work that in any way interfered with her one consuming occupation of her preparing for death was now declined by her. So when Colburn offered her the editorship of some work she gently but firmly refused. "I have been aspiring all my life, and now my sole ambition is to go to Heaven when I die." John Bell wished her to accept the management of *La Belle Assemblée*, but this likewise she declined. "She had done with the fashionable world and thought only of a better."

Though Mrs. Inchbald had withdrawn from the engrossing arena of literature, and the excitements of general society, it was not from any want of sympathy towards her kind; no canker of moroseness had eaten into her genial spirits, marring her loveliness. She was getting on towards fifty when she inspired the breast of Charles Moore, son of "Zeluco Moore," and a most promising young barrister, with the most ardent affection ever felt for her by any of her many admirers. Sir Charles Bunbury had dishonourably sheared off, and whilst awaiting his expected proposal, Mrs. Inchbald had refused the handsome offer of a Mr. Glover—a carriage, and a marriage settlement of £500 a year. Young Moore wished to marry her now, but she would never entertain the idea on account of her sedate age. When Taylor, Editor of the *Sun*, addressed a sonnet to her, she said to a friend, "I hate the word sonnet; at sixteen it might have been applicable, but at sixty-five dirge would be more suitable." Yes! her day was assuredly in its eventide, though setting calmly and as softly-beautiful as the sun in a summer sea. One friend, when asked, never flattered. She looked questioningly into the bright face of her glass and as honestly it gave back its candid reply. We turn over the leaves of her Diary and remembering that she is only a woman and has been the idol of much homage, the entries are not without pathos:—

1798. London: happy, but for suspicions, amounting almost to certainty, of a rapid appearance of age in my face.

1800. Still happy but for my still increased appearance of declining years.

1801. Very happy but for my years.

1802. Very happy but for ill-health, ill-looks, &c.

Vanity was the last failing this beworshipped woman cured in herself, if indeed she did not rather take the fault along with her into another world, there to be burned away in divine fires. Adorned with beauty that always received adequate recognition, the dangerous gift had been highly prized, and its loss proportionately dreaded. And what is vanity, after all, but the misdirection, as in so many vices, of a noble aspiration—the centring in a wrong object of God-given yearnings? The cold

creed, the inevitable outcome of the life she had been irreligiously misspending, would have riveted, link by link, its chains about her soul, to preach to her, last of all, its dismal dogma of annihilation—a dreary prospect for a heart athirst for love and for beauty, a means to love. How much more cheering was the teaching of her earlier days that had now come back to her memory like the sweet strain of an old hymn. “It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body.”* In some subtle, and perhaps unconscious way, the very craving that lay at the root of her vanity helped ultimately to work her conversion.

In 1819 she took up her abode at Kensington House, then under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Saltarelli; whilst residing in this, her last earthly abode, she had the consolation of hearing Mass every day that her health would permit. The Archbishop of Jerusalem was staying in the same house, and he was succeeded by the Abbé Mathias. Kemble wrote to her for the last time: “Know, dear muse,

’Tis our fast intent
To shake all cares and business from our age,
Conferring them on younger strength, while we
Unburthen’d crawl toward death.

In plain prose I have assigned over my sixth part of the property in absolute fee to my brother Charles, and ‘God give him good on’t.’ When I left you before, dearest, it was to visit Spain, and you managed for me in my absence; now, I think I shall make out my tour to Italy, and end perhaps like an old Roman.” They never met again. Rogers, too, sends her a tender little note. “Dear, Mrs. Inchbald,—You gave me your promise, that, if I sent you Eustace’s ‘Travels,’ you would keep them for my sake. It is a promise I shall not release you from, and whenever you open the leaves, may his gentle and enthusiastic spirit be with you. Many, many thanks. Your letter I shall treasure up, among three or four I keep to open and read whenever my spirits fail me.—Ever yours, SAM ROGERS.”

In the spring of the year 1821, she made her final will, bequeathing, among a number of other charities, fifty pounds to the Catholic Society for the Relief of the Aged Poor. Her friend Cosway died in July, and his death was a great blow to her in her sinking health. Her appetite began seriously to give way; at last she became indifferent to food. Whilst her frame became thus very much weakened from want of nourishment, a violent cold seized

* 1 Cor. xv. 42-4.

her, which she could not shake off. Then comes a badly written entry in her diary: "Went down to dinner; and, very ill of cold and fever, could not eat, and retired to bed." This was on Saturday. She rose for half an hour the next day, but did not leave her bed again alive. Inflammation set in, and she died on the following Wednesday, the 1st of August. Her friends buried her, according to the instructions in her will, in the churchyard of St. Mary Abbot. The old church has recently made way for the handsome building by Sir Gilbert Scott, but the graveyard is mostly undisturbed. One day last summer we paid a visit to Mrs. Inchbald's grave. The guardian of the cemetery did not know the spot, but he knew where Canning's son was buried, and the author of "A Simple Story" lies next to him. The western sunlight flickered through tremulous broad-leaved limes and fell on the moss-eaten lettering of an horizontal slab. It was not without difficulty that we traced the epitaph:—

Gloria in Excelsis Deo.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF

ELIZABETH INCHBALD,

WHOSE WRITINGS WILL BE CHERISHED
WHILE TRUTH, SIMPLICITY AND FEELING

COMMAND PUBLIC ADMIRATION;

AND WHOSE RETIRED AND EXEMPLARY LIFE

CLOSED, AS IT EXISTED,

IN ACTS OF CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE.

SHE DIED AUGUST 1ST, 1821. AGED 68 YEARS.

Requiescat in Pace.

P. HAYTHORNTHWAITE.

ART. III.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA—TINNEVELLY AND RAMNAD.

I HAVE already had occasion to say something in these pages of Protestant mission work in India. If I return to the subject it is because in a former article* I was able to touch only upon some of its more salient points, and the matter is of sufficient importance to demand more detailed treatment. For some seven years highly coloured narratives of missionary successes in Tinnevelly and Ramnad have been before the public, the "harvest" of 1877-78 has become a kind of legend of the mission press and platform, and the large accession of converts in these years is appealed to as a standing proof that the blessing of Heaven is with the Protestant mission societies. It is time to speak plainly of these transactions in Tinnevelly, however reluctant one may be to say anything of men whose intentions are doubtless excellent, but whose acts are dragged down to the level of the system under which they work. While fully recognizing the earnestness and zeal of many of the Protestant missionaries, one can only regret that their anxiety to show large results has led them to take steps that can, in the long run, bring little credit to Christianity in India. Moreover, methods of action have been adopted or permitted by some of the leading missionaries, which have at times been equivalent to persecution of their Catholic neighbours, and oppression of the natives. However painful it may be to speak of such things, attention must be called to them, because it is not easy to believe that those who support and direct the operations of the Protestant missionary societies in England can be really aware of what is going on in Southern India.

The mission of Tinnevelly, with its branch mission of Ramnad, forms the chief centre of Protestantism in India. Tinnevelly is the most southern district of the Madras Presidency; Ramnad is a zemindary under the control of an hereditary chief, and is situated in the adjacent district of Madura. Both missions are within the limits of the Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Madura. The low sandy shore of Tinnevelly is the "fishery-coast" of St. Francis Xavier's letters, and Ramnad is the old capital of the Marava country, the scene of the labours and martyrdom of B. John de Britto.

Tinnevelly district is about 100 miles long from north to south, and has an area of 5,381 square miles, with a population of

* "The Encyclopædia Britannica on Missions," DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1884.

1,699,747 souls (census of 1881). Ramnad and Shivaganga have a joint area of 3,663 square miles, and the population is 908,906; of those about half-a-million are in Ramnad. Thus the two mission districts have together upwards of two millions of inhabitants, chiefly agriculturists. The great mass of the people are nominally of the Hindu religion, but really worshippers of local gods, demon-worship or the propitiation of malicious deities being the main element in their religious practices.

The origin of the Protestant missions in this district dates back to the closing years of the last century, though little progress was made before 1820. The suppression of the Society of Jesus, and the dispersion of the religious orders in Europe by the French Revolution, had almost entirely deprived Southern India of Catholic missionaries. Several hundred thousand native Christians were left without pastors, and this state of things continued in many districts so long into the present century, that thousands lived and died without ever seeing a priest. Some kept up the practices of religion, met for public prayer, and baptized their children, but immense numbers fell into a state of carelessness and ignorance, and were Christians only in name. It was during this dark period that the German Protestant missionaries, employed by the English societies, obtained a footing in Tinnevely. I have little doubt that in many cases their congregations were reinforced from the wrecks of the old mission of Madura. The new teachers must often have been taken by native Christians for the representatives of those who long years before had taught the faith of the West to their fathers.

The main work of the Tinnevely and Ramnad missions is now done by two English societies—the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.); both represent the Church of England, and I may note that some of the S.P.G. missionaries appear to be very pronounced Ritualists. In one of its official publications the C.M.S. gives the following account of the beginning of Protestantism in Tinnevely:—

It is not quite certain when or by whom Protestant missions were begun in Tinnevely; but it was certainly visited by Schwartz and the Danish Lutheran missionaries in connection with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1785 there was a congregation at Palmacotta of 100 native Christians, under the charge of an ordained catechist, Saththianāthan. In 1816 the late devoted Rev. James Hough, chaplain H.E.I.C., found 3,000 converts in the province. The first European missionaries [*i.e.* the first *Protestant* missionaries] who ever resided in Tinnevely were sent there in 1820 by the C.M.S.—the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius and the Rev. B. Schmid. Great blessings

followed on the former's labours, and thousands of Shānars* sought Christian instruction. Rhenius, however, still a Lutheran, was betrayed into controversy on ecclesiastical questions; and the Society's faithfulness to the Church of England constrained them to dissolve communion with him. His death soon after extinguished all differences. The advance and consolidation of the mission has been of late years remarkable. Apart from the native Christians in the district gathered by the labours of other Protestant societies, there are now (1873) in connection with the C.M.S., 471 congregations in 814 different villages, and 38,908 registered adherents, of whom 26,798 have been baptized, and 6,265 are communicants.†

From the same source I take the following statistics of the C.M.S. mission from its foundation up to 1873:‡ —

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1873
European missionaries	2	3	5	13	13	9	8
Native clergy ...	—	—	2	2	17	30	33
Native agents...	—	77	237	425	537	614	689
Communicants ...	—	95	548	2680	4381	5986	6265
Schools ...	8	46	153	239	306	323	377
Scholars ...	471	1070	5324	6245	7941	9377	11,632

At the same date the S.P.G. claimed about 30,000 native Christians (adherents) in Tinnevely.§ Thus the total Protestant population, baptized and unbaptized, communicants and non-communicants, would be, according to missionary statistics, about 60,000, or more than half of the 118,000 Protestants of Southern India.

It had taken more than fifty years to get these 60,000 adherents together, but four years later converts began to come into the mission churches of Tinnevely and Ramnad by thousands. In little more than a year and a half (from the middle of 1877 to the end of 1878), the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. had added 35,000 to the number of their adherents, which thus rose to nearly 100,000. This influx of converts, unparalleled in the whole history of Indian Protestant missions, coincided with the time of the heaviest pressure of the famine of 1876-78, "the widest spread and the most prolonged that India has experienced," a famine "which will be known in history as the great famine of Southern India."||

In November, 1876 [says Dr. Hunter],¶ starvation was already at work, and Government adopted measures to keep the people alive.

* *Shānars*—an agricultural caste (cultivators of the palmyra or toddy palm), the most numerous caste in the district.

† "Church Missionary Atlas," 1873, p. 43.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 44.

|| Hunter, "The Indian Empire," p. 429.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 430, 431.

The next eighteen months, until the middle of 1878, were devoted to one long campaign against famine. The summer monsoon of 1877 proved a failure; some relief was brought in October of that year by the autumn monsoon, but all anxiety was not removed until the arrival of a normal rainfall in June, 1878.

I now proceed to ask and answer the questions: What was the precise nature of the connection between "the great famine of Southern India" and "the harvest" reaped by the Protestant missionaries of Tinnevely? What was the exact value of these wholesale conversions? What light has the subsequent history of the mission thrown upon the exceptional movement of 1877-78? I must repeat here what I have already said in my former article—that I am far from maintaining that real conversions cannot be made in famine time. The sight of Christian charity is no doubt often a motive for a genuine conversion, and when men are brought face to face with death, human respect and other obstacles to conversion disappear, and hesitation is reduced to a minimum. I must add that I make no general charge against the Tinnevely missionaries of attempting to deceive their supporters in England. Some of their reports are thoroughly honest and outspoken as to the true character of the movement; others are plainly the work of men who really believed that it was a sound one; but I regret to add that there are some others which are the work of men whose proceedings, had they been fully reported, might have startled subscribers in England. That the movement was not in any true sense a general conversion of large numbers of pagans I now proceed to show.

As soon as famine began seriously to menace the district active steps were taken to meet it. In connection with the central Relief Committee of Madras, and the Mansion House Committee of London, a district relief committee was established in Tinnevely, with sub-committees in all the chief centres of population. The two Protestant bishops, Dr. Caldwell (S.P.G.), and Dr. Sargent (C.M.S.), were members of the district committee, and of the nineteen sub-committees, seven were under the management of the missionaries. Of these seven sub-committees, one (Megnanapuram) was directed by Bishop Sargent, one (Sivakei) by the Rev. H. Horsley, two (Edeyengoody and Radhapuram) by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, one (Nazareth) by the Rev. A. Margoschis, and two (Sawyerpuram and Vilatikulam with Vaipar) by the Rev. T. Adamson.* In Ramnad there was a relief committee, of which the Rev. G. Billing, the local missionary of the S.P.G., was secretary. Besides the funds placed at their disposal for famine relief by their official connection with the committees, the S.P.G. missionaries had a large special fund

* *Tinnevely (Official) District Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1877, p. 367.

placed at their command by the society in England. Further, both the S.P.G. and C.M.S. agents were able to make use of the ordinary funds of the two societies.

Though these two societies were at work side by side, it is a notable fact that the accessions began in the S.P.G. districts. According to Dr. Caldwell's reports, there had been some even before the famine relief was in operation. But he does not say that these accessions took place before the alarm of approaching famine, and the hope of relief were stirring the native mind; nor does he tell us if they were above the average of preceding years. But, however this may be, all allow that the great influx of converts came after the organization of famine relief. An incident related by Dr. Caldwell* throws some light on the beginnings of the movement. He had found that some of the people were under the impression that the relief given to them was Government money, which they would have to refund later on, and that even some of his native agents had used language that might confirm this view. He therefore took steps to put the relief work in a different light.

On making this discovery [he says] I assembled all the native agents of the district, explained to them how the facts of the case stood, and pointed out to them the legitimate use they might make of the Christian kindness of the English people as an intelligible and telling argument in favour of the religion they taught, and as a reason why the people should be willing to embrace a religion which was evidently so good and so divine. I did my utmost to enkindle within them a flame of Christian zeal, and commended them and their work to God's special blessing. The following week, I met them all again, when I found that thirty-five persons had been induced to join the congregations during the week. The week following 105 more had joined, and now the fire was kindled and went on burning brightly of itself. The accessions in that district alone now number more than 2,000. People in other districts were ready to recognize and appreciate at once the benefits they saw arising from this combination of good advice with help, and the movement spread from district to district with better and better results. This incident appears to me to show very clearly that the results that have been accomplished are due, not to money, but to Christian zeal and Christian work.

The Bishop is not fortunate in his logic. His conclusion is open to the obvious retort that the incident shows still more clearly that the Christian zeal of his catechists was most efficacious when their hands were full of money, and when a terrible crisis had made money so valuable. Such were the beginnings of "the harvest." In his annual letter for 1877-78, Dr. Caldwell thus speaks of the general features of this new influx of converts:—

* In his letter of February 26, 1878 (published by the S.P.G., under the title of "The Harvest: a New Movement in Tinnevely," March 30, 1878), pp. 7, 8.

All through the year, but especially during the period when famine relief was being distributed, the accessions from heathenism were very numerous. The motives of persons who join the Christian community during a period of famine are necessarily open to some suspicion, but it has been repeatedly stated, and is quite certain, that those persons might have obtained relief whilst remaining in heathenism, as many thousands actually did; so that some other motive besides the pressure of distress must have been at work. I have already explained how two classes of influences were brought to bear on their minds at one and the same time, and I cannot do better than quote here what I have already said in my letter to the parent Society, dated June 29, 1878: "The principal cause of the movement was undoubtedly, as I have already stated, the conviction that while Hindooism had left the famine-stricken to die, Christianity had stepped in like an angel from heaven to comfort them with its sympathy and cheer them with its effectual succour. The Indian agricultural classes are certainly on the whole very ignorant, but they were not too ignorant to be able to comprehend one of the first lessons taught them by famine relief—viz., the superiority of a religion of love to a religion of indifference. The second most important fact in this movement is admitted by every person to whom I have spoken, to be the voluntary evangelistic work which has been carried on for some time past in each of the S.P.G. districts in Tinnevely and Ramnad. . . . It is evident that each of the causes I have now mentioned co-operated with the other. . . . If the heathen masses had not been stirred up beforehand by the evangelistic efforts carried on amongst them, famine relief might have been given on the largest possible scale without any result, or with only a very small amount of fruit, whilst evangelistic work might have been carried on for years with comparatively small success, if the hearts of the people had not been touched and softened by the extraordinary kindness shown them by the Christians of England in their distress." But whatever be the motives by which these people may have been influenced in the first instance, it is a fact, and a most important fact, that they have been actually brought into the Christian fold.*

In the same letter the Bishop states that he assigned the special fund of the S.P.G. (as distinguished from the Relief Committee funds), "primarily, though not exclusively," to the relief of the native Protestant congregations; and he adds:—

It cannot be doubted that the moral effect of the interest we were thus enabled to evince in the welfare of our own people was very great. The general mass of the famine-stricken were helped by means of the other funds we administered, as far as those funds went, whilst the members of the household of faith found that by means of this special fund they were sought out and helped with special tenderness and care.†

Now this report, even taking it by itself, contains some im-

* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1877-78, pp. 4, 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

portant admissions. Read in the light of the documents from which I shall presently quote, they amount to strong presumptive proof against the genuineness of the work done in Tinnevely during the famine in the way of conversions. Let us note these admissions. The Bishop allows—(1) that the conversions were especially numerous during the famine relief period; (2) that special funds were at the disposal of the missionaries for the relief of the Protestants, so that they were better off than the non-Christians; (3) that the principal motive in many cases was that the Protestants were giving relief, while the Hindus *as a body* were not doing so.* It is further to be noted that (4) his plea that the people might have been relieved, and in many cases were relieved, while remaining heathens, goes for very little beside the fact that at a moment when the obtaining of relief was a matter of life and death the Protestant natives were more readily and amply relieved, and this so effectually that “not many died from want,”† while the Hindus were dying by thousands. No one denies that a secondary cause of the new converts declaring themselves Christians was the presence and activity of the S.P.G. agents. Had there been no mission stations, and had the money been placed in the hands of Hindu and Mohammedan officials, there would have been no movement of conversion. This much the Bishop has proved, but no more.

I have already remarked that the movement began in the S.P.G. districts. It did not spread to those worked by Bishop Sargent and the agents of the C.M.S. till later. Before this new development had taken place the Madras *Church Missionary Record*, the local organ of the C.M.S., had expressed its opinion of the conversions in guarded but still sufficiently outspoken terms to confirm the view I have taken of Dr. Caldwell's report. From a series of articles published in 1878, in this Indian missionary periodical, it is quite clear that at first the agents of the C.M.S. kept aloof from the movement, and looked upon it with not a little suspicion. Later on they too were drawn into the current; but I may note here, at the outset, that at no time do I find any trace of such transactions on their part as the curious system of lending on mortgage bonds, practised by some at least of the agents of the S.P.G.; and, moreover, the reports of Dr. Sargent of the C.M.S. are pitched

* It is only fair to the Hindus to say that many wealthy native gentlemen gave most generous help, though, as the higher officials in India are nearly all Europeans, the administration was chiefly in Christian hands. Dr. Caldwell gives the Christians far too exclusively the credit of the relief work.

† Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., 1877-78, p. 1.

in a much more moderate key than those of Dr. Caldwell of the S.P.G. These articles in the *Madras Church Missionary Record*, the official organ of a great missionary society, written by missionaries, and published in India at the very time of "the harvest" in Tinnevely and Ramnad, are so important that I shall make a series of extracts from them. I find in the *Church Missionary Record* for August, 1878, an article headed "The Accessions in Tinnevely." The writer begins by saying that while previous numbers of the *Record* had spoken only of the depressing effect of the famine on the work of the C.M.S. in Tinnevely, the organs of the S.P.G. had been reporting the accession of thousands of converts. Surprise had been naturally expressed at such a difference between the results obtained by the two societies. It was asked how it was that while the S.P.G. had been so successful, the C.M.S. had done so little. The writer first speaks of the movement in Tinnevely:—

Our readers are probably aware that in February last Bishop Caldwell wrote a letter to the London Secretary of the S.P.G. reporting that in the six preceding months 16,000 heathen in the S.P.G. districts of Tinnevely and Ramnad had abandoned idolatry and placed themselves under Christian instruction; and that he asked for a large reinforcement of English missionaries, and for funds to employ a large addition of native catechists to instruct those new inquirers. An appeal for £20,000 for these purposes was at once put forth by the S.P.G., in which Bishop Caldwell's letter, giving all particulars, was printed in full. To this some incautious statements were added implying that this large accession of catechumens was the result of a kind of Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit. Since February the movement has continued, and we hear that by the middle of June the total accessions from heathenism amounted to 19,300.*

The writer then proceeds to point out that inasmuch as Bishop Sargent and the C.M.S. missionaries had been working and preaching as zealously as Bishop Caldwell and the men of the S.P.G. without any such remarkable results, the cause of the large accessions in the S.P.G. missions must be looked for elsewhere than in a comparison between the zeal and energy of the agents of the two societies. Then he gives the reason plainly enough:—

We feel that we shall only be reiterating the sentiments of Bishop Caldwell, whose letter lies before us, and of some at any rate of the S.P.G. agents themselves, if we state that these large accessions are mainly due to the kind and opportune relief administered to the sufferers from famine, through the instrumentality of the agents of the S.P.G. in Tinnevely.†

* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, August, 1878, p. 249.

† *Ibid.* p. 250.

He then points out that as the famine was more severe in one part of the S.P.G. mission than elsewhere in Tinnevely, far larger sums were placed at the disposal of its agents for famine relief than those received for this purpose by the C.M.S. Moreover, the two societies having different special objects in view, it might well be that there was some difference in the mode in which the relief was distributed. The S.P.G., he says, had always been anxious to extend its borders, the C.M.S. looked rather to the consolidation of the congregations already formed. Hence during the famine Bishop Sargent and his clergy had been "doubly cautious to abstain from offering any apparent inducements to draw over bodies of inquirers." The article concludes by insisting that the new adherents of the S.P.G. were only "converts" in a very loose sense, and by pointing out that some time must elapse before it would be possible to make a sound estimate of the value of the movement. The passage is an important one:—

With regard to the conversions themselves, a great mistake appears to have been made in home papers in the estimate formed of the spiritual condition of those who have put themselves under instruction. No one, we believe, is more keenly alive to this than Bishop Caldwell. The words *convert* and *conversions* are used in various significations, and have perhaps given rise to some misunderstanding. It is a happy thing when large bodies of heathens place themselves under Christian instruction, even though their motives may not be in all cases quite pure; but putting themselves under instruction is a very different thing from being brought, by something like a Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to a sense of spiritual need and a saving knowledge of Christ, or even from being baptized Christians. In some respects these large numbers may even prove in the end a source of weakness, unless the very greatest care and caution be used in admitting them into the Christian Church. . . . On the whole we feel that there is among the heathen in Tinnevely a decided movement towards Christianity, and that there is reason to thank God that so many have, from whatever cause, come under regular Christian instruction. At the same time we feel that time alone can give us a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions.*

In the September number of the same periodical there is evidence that the C.M.S. agents were beginning to take up the movement, but still the Society did not abandon its attitude of reserve. The accessions were extending to the C.M.S. districts adjoining those of the S.P.G. Bishop Sargent had met delegates representing 419 families from twenty-six villages who wished to be admitted as

* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, August, 1878, pp. 252, 253.

"adherents." The Bishop's report on this conference is published in the *Church Missionary Record*, and the editor remarks upon it:

What Bishop Sargent has written confirms us in the general views which we expressed in our article last month, especially in regard to the cautious estimate which should be formed of the spiritual condition of those who have, in such large numbers, placed themselves under Christian instruction. We should consider them as persons who, from a variety of very mixed motives, have asked to be taken into connection with the Christian body, and who have been received on probation.*

As to what these "mixed motives" were the Bishop's report is very outspoken. He thus sums them up:—

1. With not a few worldly trouble has been the turning-point. Why not try a change? We cannot be worse off than we are.

2. Many have been induced by the fact that so many of their relations in other places have become Christians—they do not like to be isolated.

3. Many had once been Christians and had backslided; they feel convinced that since then they have not prospered, but have yearly become more and more wretched.

4. They look on Christians of long standing, and see how they have advanced in education, respectability, and worldly prosperity.

5. The opinion is gaining ground on all sides that the *Pèys*—i.e., the demons, or objects of former worship—have lost their power, their day is past and gone. (I fear an outbreak of cholera will shake the belief of many on this point.)

6. Many are affected by the sympathy shown them by Christians; they feel that in distress Christians are the only party from whom they may expect friendly aid.

These form the motives by which the great majority of the late accessions in the C.M.S. have been effected. But there remains now the mention of the high motive which has moved a very small minority—viz., a conviction of the truth of Christianity and an earnest care about salvation. This spiritual motive may be traced more or less in several who have joined us in the villages of Alvartope, Maniyarantattu, and Pannivillei.†

He notes incidentally that such was the superstition of the new-comers that many of the promised accessions (about 500 in all) were put off till the following month, because the *present month was in Hindu opinion an unlucky one!* and he exclaims, "How I have longed to be able to find that spiritual motives actuated any large body of these professors, but in all honesty I must acknowledge that this spiritual element is absent in the vast majority of cases."‡ Although the Bishop took this

* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, Sept. 1878, p. 283.

† *Ibid.* p. 287.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 288.

depressing view of the influx of new converts, by the end of September the C.M.S. had in great part abandoned its attitude of reserve and was vying with the S.P.G. in gathering together new adherents. Dr. Sargent himself issued a proclamation calling upon the heathen to flock into the Church, a document the imprudent language of which called forth some sharp comments in the Anglo-Indian press. The Bishop committed the further imprudence of involving himself in controversy with the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, which had been one of his most severe critics. Amongst other facts that came out in this controversy it appears that the native gentlemen of Tinnevely (Hindus) had done much to relieve the homeless beggars who flocked into the towns; * amongst these last no conversions were made—the conversions, it seems, were confined to the villagers and small farmers, among whom the relief agencies of the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. were at work.

Now let us see how much the documents I have quoted have told us. I submit that the coincidence between the pressure of the famine, the relief administered by the missionaries, and the unprecedented influx of converts justifies something more than a suspicion that the conversions were in great part unreal. We get something very like proof of this when we find that the converts were only converts in the sense of a loose adhesion and willingness to listen to instruction, and further confirmation is afforded by the articles in the *Church Missionary Record* and Bishop Sargent's honest outspoken report. But we must test the matter further. If these conversions were real, we should expect to find that there were no underhand proceedings on the part of the missionaries in the distribution of relief, no attempts to get material pledges of the converts' perseverance, no refusal of help to those who did not show a willingness for instruction. We should also expect to find that within two or three years at most the new adherents would be baptized Christians, and that although there might be some relapses among so many, these would not be numerous enough to tell seriously upon the mission statistics, new accessions and the natural increase of population balancing any such trifling loss. But all this is precisely *what we find not to be the case*. I proceed to adduce evidence on these test points, much of it only very recently available, for the *Church Missionary Record* was perfectly right when it told its readers in August, 1878, "Time alone can give us a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions."

What, in the first place, is the significance of the undeniable

* Letter of Bishop Sargent to the Editor of the *Pioneer*.

fact that in the midst of the famine, missionaries of the S.P.G., and some even of those who were officially engaged on the relief committees, were lending small sums to the natives on mortgage at 18 per cent.? How is it that the poor borrowers have been left unmolested for years, but when they showed a disposition to change their religion have been dragged into court and forced to pay? Questions were asked in the House of Commons as to these transactions on the 9th and 13th of last November. The Under-Secretary for India in reply held out some hope of a semi-official inquiry at Madras. I do not know if any such inquiry has been made, but I have in my possession evidence that puts the facts beyond dispute. I gave in a note to my former article a translation of one of those bonds, omitting only the names of the lender and borrower. As this omission has led to my being charged with publishing a document with no clue by which its genuineness could be tested,* and as this matter must be put beyond challenge I proceed to give names and dates of bonds in my possession. I notice that the *Madras Mail* has already published a bond of this kind with the missionary lender's name in full.

The bond, of which I published a translation in the DUBLIN REVIEW for last July (p. 142), was given by Ramasamy Achary, of Putthiamputtur, to the Rev. Thomas Adamson, S.P.G., and acknowledges a loan of 20 rupees at 18 per cent. secured on mortgage of land.

I see by the minutes published in the *Tinnevely District (Official) Gazette* of November 14, 1877, that on November 7, 1877, this same missionary, the Rev. T. Adamson, took part in a meeting of the District Famine Relief Committee. From a bond in my possession it appears that on November 8 (*i.e.*, the day after) he lent 5 rupees (= 10 shillings) on mortgage at 18 per cent. to Thoppa Nadan, of Putthiamputtur. No doubt the money lent was not public property—still, what is to be said of such transactions in famine time by men who were officially engaged in the distribution of public money? I have another bond dated December 1, 1877, by which Sangara Mudali, of the same place, mortgaged his land to the Rev. T. Adamson for a loan of 7 rupees at 18 per cent. interest. That Mr. Adamson was not the only missionary engaged in these transactions is shown by a bond of which I have a copy. It is dated December 6, 1877,

* This is the allegation of a writer in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of November last. As a fact, I gave several clues—the date, the name of the S.P.G., and the statement that the lender was on a relief committee. Thus the choice lay between five or six individuals, all employed by one society, to the secretaries of which my article was duly forwarded.

and is given by a native of Ramnad to the Rev. G. Billing, S.P.G. (who was then in charge of the mission at Ramnad and secretary of the relief committee); it acknowledges a loan of 19 rupees at 18 per cent., secured on mortgage. The bond states explicitly that the borrower has received the money through the catechist Abraham "out of the charity fund"—*i.e.*, the fund of the Society.

The existence of this money-lending system is further proved by judgments given in the local courts. Thus, on November 21, 1883, the civil court of Tuticorin gave judgment in favour of the Rev. T. Adamson on a bond signed during the famine and bearing 18 per cent. interest. The defendants were two "adherents" of Protestantism who had lately become Catholics. There appear to have been other cases of the same kind, in which Mr. Adamson was concerned, at Tuticorin. His colleague, the Rev. A. Margoschis, S.P.G. (also a member of the Famine Relief Committee), recovered money in the same way in the court of Strivaigundam. The Rev. G. Billing has, since the famine, been promoted to the post of secretary of the Madras Diocesan Committee, and the Rev. Mr. Matthews has taken his place at Ramnad. On February 9, 1884, the Rev. Mr. Matthews brought an action in the court of Paramagudy against two natives to recover money on a mortgage bond given by their father to the Rev. G. Billing on March 18th, 1878. Judgment was given for the plaintiff, who recovered 83 rupees on a loan of 50. On the same day and in the same court Mr. Matthews recovered a second sum of 83 rupees from another native on a bond given to Mr. Billing on the same date. In both cases defendants had recently become Catholics. It was also alleged that in both cases the money had been given to the defendants, as headmen of their villages, to be used for relief purposes, and that they had subsequently been induced to sign the bonds. The large sum in question makes this look probable, but I have no proof of it.

I note one more case, as it shows how these loans were used as a weapon against converts to Catholicism. In this case no bond could be produced, but an attempt was made to prove a verbal promise. On September 30, 1881, the Rev. Mr. Samidasen, S.P.G. missionary, residing at Melikidarem, brought an action in the court of the district munsiff at Paramagudy to recover a sum of 43 rupees from three natives who had lately become Catholics. Mr. Samidasen himself gave evidence of a verbal promise to pay, alleged to have been made on July 8, 1878, and he called two witnesses. But his case broke down completely, and the court gave judgment that the evidence was "wholly false" and contradictory, and dismissed the suit. Application was made to the court for an order to prosecute the

Rev. Mr. Samidasen and his witnesses for perjury. The order was granted on June 15, 1882. In giving this order the local magistrate (a native gentleman) says :—

I went through the whole case and heard the arguments of vakeels on both sides. It is clear from the statement of Rev. Samidasen (plaintiff), and that of his witnesses, that plaintiff and his witnesses have given false evidence. Plaintiff's own statement is most contradictory and unsatisfactory. The district munsiff who decided the case has declared that their evidence is wholly false, and I do not for a moment differ from him. I therefore grant sanction to prosecute Rev. Samidasen and David and Santiagonadan for the offence of giving false evidence. (Signed) V. NARAYANA ROW, Ag. District Munsiff.

The criminal case against this reverend gentleman did not come on for hearing as he died the same summer. In connection with all these transactions it is to be noted that :—

(1.) The Tinnevely Relief Committee in their instructions for the guidance of the sub-committees, said (paragraph 1) : " It is important that all should know that the money is not given by Government as a loan, but is a gift sent direct by the people of England." These instructions were published under the sanction of a special committee of nine members, of whom six were native gentlemen of high official position as judges and vakeels. Thus while the mortgaging and money-lending of the S.P.G. funds was going on, the lenders were engaged in administering another fund publicly proclaimed to be a gift and not a loan. What wonder if some of the natives mistook one fund for the other, and that they have sometimes protested that when they signed the bonds they did not understand the nature of the transaction.

(2.) We read in the Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1877-78 :* " Many [of the natives] had to mortgage or sell their little plot of land that they might buy food ; so that the native church will be impoverished for some years to come." There is no hint that, at least in some instances, the land was mortgaged to the pastors of the Church, the agents of the S.P.G.

(3.) But a very clear admission of the existence of this system is to be found in the Report for 1881-82. By that time defections had begun, and the bonds were being enforced ; accordingly, the Rev. Arthur Margoschis, of whose own transactions we have heard something already, reports from the Nazareth district of Tinnevely :—

The ancient and pernicious custom of lending out money on interest having been discontinued, considerable effort has been made to call in the money, and in some cases the mission has been compelled, as a last resource, to adopt severe measures. This has naturally produced more or less unpleasantness and ill-feeling amongst certain of our people,

* P. 9.

who have not failed to take advantage of their position to influence their friends and relatives otherwise than for good.*

Mr. Margoschis does not tell us how many of these loans dated from the great famine.

So far I have proved that the agents of the S.P.G. in Tinnevely and Ramnad, at least in some cases, took bonds for money supplied to the natives during the famine, and put these bonds in force on the converts abandoning Protestantism. This is one suspicious element in the "harvest" of souls in Tinnevely in 1877-78. But I am also positively assured by Catholic missionaries at work in the district that help was in several cases refused to the Catholics by the S.P.G. agents, who were officially connected with the relief system of the district. I know that the S.P.G. missionaries assert in their reports that relief was given to all without regard to caste and creed; but against these general assertions I can set definite statements as to names, place and date of such refusals of help. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Bishop Caldwell admits in his report that the Protestants were better off than others, and had special funds "chiefly but not exclusively" devoted to their support. Perhaps in cases where we find native agents turning away Catholics, it was the distribution of these special funds that was in progress. However this may be, the superior advantages at the command of the Protestants did unfortunately lead to the perversion of some hundreds of Catholics, but like the "soupers" of the Irish famine, once the pressure of hunger was over most of them abandoned their new teachers.

So much for some of the more suspicious features of this combination of famine-relief and wholesale conversion. Now let us see what light is thrown on the accessions of 1877-78 by the subsequent history of the converts. It is striking to see the immense number of unbaptized adherents still borne upon the lists four, five, and even six years after "the harvest." Thus the C.M.S. reports give us the following results:—

TINNEVELLY.—C.M.S. MISSIONS.

Christians.	Baptized.	Unbaptized.	Total.	Baptisms.	Adults.	Children.	Total.
June 1, 1883...	42,128 ...	13,629...	55,757	1882-83 ...	567 ...	1,696 ...	2,263
„ 1884...	43,644 ...	12,813...	56,457	1883-84 ...	796 ...	1,786 ...	2,582

As there have been no large accessions of late years, we may take these twelve or thirteen thousand unbaptized adherents as in great part representing the converts of the famine years and their families. The statistics of the S.P.G. give the same results. On June 30, 1883, in the Tinnevely and Ramnad missions there were 14,050 unbaptized adherents to 30,758 baptized Christians. Thus in June 1883 in the two missions, there were still upwards of 27,000 unbaptized adherents, and this though there had been

* P. 55.

no large influx of converts since the famine years. From the S.P.G. statistics it appears that about three-sevenths of the unbaptized adherents are children, presumably of parents who are still unbaptized. The gradual increase in numbers of the baptized is of course due partly to the baptism of adult catechumens and their families, partly to the baptism of Christian children. The numbers of the adherents is also kept up by the ordinary increase of population. Bearing this in mind it is not possible to look at all closely even at the C.M.S. statistics without suspecting a considerable falling off of adherents. Without exact statistics of the birth and death rate in Tinnevely it is not possible to test them closely, but if the statistics of baptisms are any guide it would seem that births and infant baptisms have done something to keep up the figures since 1877-78, and have compensated for a good many defections. For the S.P.G. missions there are fuller statistics available, not indeed in its home reports, but in those published in India by the Madras Diocesan Committee, and apparently circulated only among the friends of the institution. From these reports for 1880-81 and 1881-82 I extract the following tables, showing the state of affairs in the S.P.G. missions of Tinnevely and Ramnad three and four years after the famine:—

TINNEVELLY AND RAMNAD.

Comparison of the totals of persons under Christian instruction, Baptized and Unbaptized.—June 30, 1880, 1881, 1882.

Districts.	1880.	1881.	Difference 1880-81.	1882.	Difference 1881-82.
Edeyengoody ...	4770	4808	+ 38	4813	+ 5
Mudalur ...	2812	2887	+ 75	2837	- 50
Christianagaram ...	3008	3126	+118	3131	+ 5
Radapuram ...	3303	3410	+107	3391	- 19
Nazareth ...	6277	6340	+ 63	6044	-296
Sawyerpuram ...	3178	3230	+ 52	3066	-170
Pudukottai ...	2376	1942	-434	1914	- 28
Tuticorin ...	1982	2048	+ 66	} * {	-212
Pudiamputtur ...	1159	1158	- 1		+ 19
Scytalai ...	1596	1568	- 28		+173
Kullatur ...	1317	1275	- 42	1425	+150
Iral ...	561	563	+ 2	511	- 51
Attangkarai ...	2307	2178	-129	2081	- 97
Negalapuram ...	3840	3881	+ 41	3899	+ 18
Mathalapuram ...	832	917	+ 85	856	- 61
Kadalgudai ...	883	912	+ 29	802	-110
Ramnad ...	5238	5043	-195	4920	-123

* It is not easy to compare the tables for 1880-81 and 1881-82 as far as Tuticorin and Pudiamputtur are concerned. The tables for 1880-81

For 1880-81 the total loss shown by these tables is 153, for 1881-82 it is 810 (*i.e.*, 687 in Tinnevely and 123 in Ramnad). But these are only the net losses; the actual number of defections must be much higher, for such losses are compensated in part in ordinary seasons by the increase of the population, and there are always a few new accessions. Moreover, these are only the *acknowledged* losses—catechists and native pastors, and even European missionaries are naturally unwilling to strike off their lists the nominal adherents of past years. In some instances the local reports of the S.P.G. speak of these defections and their causes. Thus in the report for 1880-81 Bishop Caldwell mentions the relapses in Pudukottai. He says of them:—

The people who relapsed were mostly illiterate labourers of the poorest class,* and they appeared to have been enrolled in the congregational lists too hurriedly, without probation, without waiting to see whether they really meant to embrace the new faith. They appeared also to have been left with little or no instruction, and in many cases without places of worship to meet in.†

Here is a first admission as to the character of some at least of the conversions that had gone to swell the statistics of 1877-78. There are more of the same kind in Dr. Caldwell's report for 1881-82. In that year the statistics showed a decrease in ten out of the seventeen districts of Tinnevely. The Bishop writes of these losses:—

The total diminution is 687. As the number of the baptized has increased, it would follow that the number of the unbaptized should be diminished in proportion. But this does not account for the whole of the loss. I have been informed also from time to time of new accessions from heathenism. These amount in the aggregate to 815 souls. But even this increase has failed to counterbalance the number of the unbaptized who have disappeared from the church lists. What is the

give the figures to be found in my second, third, and fourth columns, but the tables in the report for 1881-82 give much lower figures for 1881. The table stands thus:—

	1881.	1882.	Difference.
Tuticorin	850	638	- 212
Odaipatti Puttur ...	1077	1096	+ 19
Pudiamputtur	1248	1285	+ 37

The mention of a new district (Odaipatti Puttur) suggests that there has been a rearrangement of districts. In the tables of the general report for 1882, issued by the S.P.G. to home subscribers, several districts are not named, but *en revanche* Pudiamputtur is credited with 7,393 baptized Christians and 6,409 catechumens.

* To this class, if I am not mistaken, a considerable portion of the converts of 1877-78 belonged.

† Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1880-81, p. 3.

cause of these losses? This is a subject to which I gave my most anxious attention during my visitation of the various districts. In some cases the people inquired about had relapsed into heathenism. In a larger number of cases they had simply got tired of coming to Church, tired of learning lessons, tired of being expected to live well, tired of being asked to give. Their Christianity had not gone deeper than this. . . . The largest number of cases consisted of persons who had wandered off in search of a livelihood, some of whom might possibly return, but the majority seemed to have hopelessly disappeared. These people had joined us during the famine, and they continued to retain the characteristics of famine refugees, never making real progress, never settling down contentedly to any kind of work, and at length slipping away no one knew whither.*

And he comes to this very practical conclusion: "This shows that it is very doubtful whether the number of the unbaptized should receive such prominent notice as it does in our published statistics." Some of the local reports are equally outspoken. Generally these frank confessions come from missionaries newly placed in charge of a district, and unable to find all the sheep that are numbered in the lists of their pastorate. But this is not always the case. The Rev. Mr. Margoschis, a veteran of the famine-relief period, reports that since the accession of 2,532 people and fourteen villages in 1877-78 there had been no epidemic in the district; but in 1881-82 there was an outbreak of cholera, and Mr. Margoschis notes that "it only remained for a time of trial to come to separate the wheat from the tares." He can only "thank God the results have not been *very discouraging*." The people of Komaligudy "have relapsed for the sixth time, the Maravars of Alvar-Tirunagari have relapsed for the fifth time." The net loss for the whole district is 206, all the relapses being in the ranks of the unbaptized. He adds:—

No doubt many will be willing enough to rejoin the mission when it serves their purpose, and the Komaligudy people to this day declare they have not relapsed. They did not, however, attend any of the Church services, they refused to be instructed, and they beat their catechist. Under these circumstances, after much persuasion and kindness had been shown to them without avail, the whole congregation was removed from the registers. The presence of such nominal Christians in our missions is always a source of weakness, and tends to bring shame and dishonour to the cause of Christ in this land. The lack of discipline in many congregations also is very hurtful to the growth of religion pure and undefiled.†

If we may judge from previous reports of Mr. Margoschis, it was not till the outbreak of cholera that he became fully alive to

* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881-82, pp. 5, 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 48.

the state of things in his district. From Pudukottai and Sawyerpuram the Rev. Mr. Sharrock reports that two new native ministers having been appointed to these districts discovered that they were not in as good a condition as was generally reported; and he allows that this is a discovery generally made by clergymen on taking charge of a district. In these two cases, he says:—

So many Christians were recorded in each of the village registers, but it was often found that the numbers were far from correct—the names of people, who had not for months and months attended the Church, were entered there, and in some cases the names of those who had long ago left the villages, or even been taken away to their last account. A catechist is a wonderfully hopeful creature, or in other words he does not like to give a bad impression of his work, and so speaks of those who have relapsed simply as irregular Christians, who will soon be brought back to a sense of their duties. In Sawyerpuram a scrutiny of the registers revealed a loss of 680 souls out of a present total of 3,230, while at Pudukottai a similar distressing discovery was made.*

Some of the relapsed were reclaimed (probably to relapse again). In one village the people on being urged to come to Church, replied, "It is three years since you helped us, have we not knelt [*i.e.*, come to Church] long enough for that?" In these afflictions Mr. Sharrock finds consolation in the remark that there are black sheep in every flock. More than 20 per cent. of the flock at Sawyerpuram seem to have been of this colour. From Ramnad, Mr. Billing's successor, the Rev. F. Matthews, reports for 1882-83:—

A great tax has been put upon the zeal and patience of the native clergy this year. We have been blessed with very prosperous seasons, and the people, in proportion to their prosperity, grow proportionately cold in religion, and show a spirit of indifference. Many of them have gone back to heathenism, declaring that Christianity stripped them of their ceremonies, &c., and gave them nothing in return. Large numbers are too indifferent even to return openly to heathenism, or to attend to their duties as Christians.†

I might easily add more testimony of the same kind. I have also evidence that in village after village the Catholics who embraced Protestantism under pressure of the famine have returned to the Church, and in many cases numbers of Protestant converts from heathenism have also become Catholics. These defections become still more important when it is considered that

* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881-82, p. 57.

† Report of the Ramnad Mission for 1882-83, p. 2.

they have taken place in spite of no little persecution on the part of the missionaries and their agents. We have already seen that in many cases such deserters from the Protestant camp exposed themselves to prosecution on bonds signed during the famine. Besides this there have been acts of personal violence against converts to Catholicism and backsliders to heathenism. Conversions to Catholicism have even been made the pretext for disgraceful rioting, in one instance the funeral of a convert being outraged by the employés of a Protestant mission. In some few cases the aggressors have been brought to justice. But, nevertheless, between legal annoyance in the courts and illegal persecution in the villages, there is enough to hold back many a waverer from either coming forward to Catholicism or going back to heathenism.

Throughout this inquiry I have used the statistics of the mission reports, although they are not always very reliable; they are sure to minimize losses and to pass lightly over weak points. The local reports of the Madras Diocesan Committee show that in several cases the Indian mission statistics of the S.P.G. have year after year been drawn up in a very misleading way. In some districts it seems to have been the recognized practice to count as separate villages different quarters of the same town, and occasionally to return single families as congregations. We have already seen the admission made by a Tinnevely missionary, that a newly-appointed clergyman generally finds that his district is not in quite so good a condition as the reports had led him to expect, and that the hopeful disposition of the catechists sometimes leads them to return as Christians people who are really heathens. The census returns afford no certain means of checking the reports drawn up in this way. As was to be expected, the census returns of 1881 show an enormous increase of Protestants in Tinnevely, but they throw no light on the point we are investigating—namely, the real character of this increase. Comparing the census of 1871 and 1881, we have the following figures for Tinnevely:—

	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Increase per cent.
Catholics ...	52,780	58,080	5,300	10·04
Protestants ...	49,796	82,866	33,070	66·41

The Protestants in Tinnevely district mainly represent the adherents of the two great Church of England societies. These census returns have sometimes been appealed to in confirmation of the mission reports, but, unfortunately for this argument, an Indian is not like an English census. The returns are not filled up independently by the people themselves, but are made up by

the local enumerators, and before laying much stress on these figures as an argument, one would like to know to what extent the schoolmasters, catechists, and other agents of the mission societies were employed as local enumerators. Of course the returns of Protestants include the miscellaneous mass of "adherents" as well as the baptized Christians. As to the high percentage of increase among the Protestants as compared to that of the Catholics, it must be remembered that not only did the Protestants recruit largely during the famine, but also that they were so well off for money that not many died, while the Catholics lost heavily by death and emigration. The wonder is that the Catholics show any increase at all.

As to the internal condition of the mission we know, of course, little more than what the missionaries choose to tell us, but certain weak points cannot be concealed. In the printed reports much is made of the "native contributions" to the mission funds, as substantial proof of the Christian zeal of the converts. But even this branch of missionary finance appears to have its own peculiarities. A native Protestant of Tinnevely, in a letter to the editor of the *Madras Mail* of June 8, 1879, writes thus of "native contributions":—

The majority of the native Christians are poor, and it is by unremitting exertions and importunities of catechists and pastors that their promised contributions finally reach the mission coffers. It is difficult to believe that the contributions are other than voluntary; but I can assure you, sir, as one born and bred in the district, that in a majority of cases they are wrung from the poor people, who are quick to promise but very, very slow to pay. It often happens that the pastor or catechist has recourse to the very questionable measure of removing the eating and drinking vessels of a family, and holding them as pledge until the money should be paid.

I am assured that another element in the native contributions consists of deductions from the pay of employés. For instance, a catechist is paid 25 rupees, but his salary is nominally 30 rupees, the other 5 rupees being credited to the society as a "native contribution." This ingenious arrangement satisfies both parties. The missionary society is enabled to show a large list of native contributions, rising year by year as the number of its agents increases; and the catechist can boast that his salary is 30 rupees, of which he gives 5 rupees to the Church.

Besides these doubtful methods of finance, there are also weak points in connection with something very like a tendency of the native congregations to run into sects and schisms of their own making. For six years before 1881, a native clergyman of the C.M.S. was going about Tinnevely predicting the end of the

world for that year. He won many adherents. Dr. Caldwell admits that, although he looked on the whole affair as a mischievous delusion, he gave the followers of this false prophet a place immediately after the native clergy in processions on public occasions, and allowed them to wear "their peculiar dresses and badges." * The movement spread rapidly, aided, no doubt, by what must have looked like episcopal sanction. In 1881, it collapsed on the non-fulfilment of the prophecy. Only last year there were disturbances on another subject in the C.M.S. missions, and the troubles were at one time so serious that a large secession of natives was expected. On April 6, Bishop Sargent was at Megnanapuram. The people had sent a petition to the Bishop asking him *not to come*, but come he did. He had the church bells rung, but no one appeared except the paid mission agents. The people meanwhile held a service of their own elsewhere. A writer in the *Madras Mail* (June 12, 1884), explains that the people were irritated because they thought the Bishop had acted offensively towards their caste. He adds that the Bishop was also badly received in other villages, and predicts a schism or a secession to "the Roman Faith," if these troubles continue. Besides these quarrels among their own people and their continual warfare with the Catholics, the missionaries appear to have had at least one quarrel with the Lutherans on their hands of late, and there is some strong language on the subject in the reports. Altogether the life of a Tinnevely missionary must be full of activity.

To sum up:—I submit that I have shown that "the harvest" of 1877-78, in Tinnevely and Ramnad, the greatest recent triumph of the Protestant mission societies, was at best a doubtful success; that it was won by a combination of proselytism and famine relief; that some of the leading apostles of Tinnevely used the mission funds to secure material pledges of their converts' fidelity in the shape of mortgage bonds; that the new adherents were a mass of famine-stricken people acting, with rare exceptions, from purely temporal motives; that if they came in by thousands, they have been going back by hundreds—some relapsing again and again after giving the societies the trouble of converting them four or five times; others, like those of Ramnad, remaining in a state of indifference, too careless to be either heathens or Christians. There is, moreover, evidence that these defections have taken place in the face of persecution, annoyance, and even violence, at the hands of the mission agents, who have taken every means to retain their proselytes; that of

* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881-82, p. 12.

those who have not gone back, thousands have remained for years unbaptized, though special funds and special agencies were established for their instruction; that, finally, the inner condition of the congregations leaves much to be desired, the native mission contributions being exacted by the frequent seizure of pots and pans, the people being ready to run after a false prophet like the founder of the "six years' movement," and village after village giving its Bishop anything but a loyal reception. It was not without good reason that the *Church Missionary Record* of Madras wrote, five years ago, that time alone would give us "a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions." Time has already thrown much light upon the events of the great Indian famine, but without waiting for this test, writers on Protestant missions have hastened to enroll the famine work in Tinnevely and Ramnad among the proudest triumphs of missionary zeal, and probably for years to come we shall hear from time to time the legend of "the harvest" of 1877-78.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE, S.J.

ART. IV.—THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS IN BELGIUM.

THE triumph of the Conservative and Catholic party in Belgium, in the elections of the tenth of June last; the overthrow of the so-called Liberal Ministry, which had been in power five years, and the crisis which has resulted from it, have attracted attention to the political condition of this country. The events which have occurred since then are full of useful lessons even for the greater States. Thoughtful men cannot regard them with indifference. An exact account of these events, written by an impartial observer, who has had the advantage of being on intimate terms with the leading politicians of Belgium, will doubtless be acceptable to our readers.

To understand the full significance of the crisis we are passing through, and the gravity of which it would be foolish to deny, it is necessary to inquire into the causes which have brought the Catholic Ministry into power.

According to the Belgium constitution education in every grade is free. Individuals as well as the State are allowed to erect primary schools, colleges of humanities and universities. In virtue of this liberty, the bishops erected in 1834 a Catholic University in Louvain; the Masonic Lodges founded the free University of Brussels, to which the city of Brussels itself and

the provincial government of Brabant give considerable subsidies. The State established two official universities: the one at Ghent and the other at Liège. In virtue of this same liberty, a large number of establishments of the second class, colleges, or *petits-seminaires*, have been founded either by the secular or by the regular clergy. No town of any importance is without a college of humanities, founded and sustained by the clergy without any intervention of the State or subsidy from the Government. There are more than fifty of these establishments. In them three-fourths of the whole youth of Belgium receive their education. The State has erected in all the chief places of the provinces and in other towns a college, or, if the town be too small, a middle school—*i.e.*, a superior primary school with a highly developed syllabus.

In this way there was before 1879 in each town a college of humanities, directed by the State, and a similar establishment under the direction of the clergy. Each strove with a laudable emulation to gain the confidence of the surrounding families. It cannot be denied that the religious establishments had the advantage in this pacific contest. The Liberal Ministry, brought in by the elections of 1878, could not endure this state of things. They multiplied the "athénées" to such an extent as to establish them even in the little towns of Marche, Virton, Bouillon, Thuin. In these little places the official establishments had almost as many professors as students. These professors were rewarded with a prodigality which plunged the communes into debt, and contrasted singularly with the parsimony of the Government towards its other *employés*.

As to elementary education, it developed very quickly after the year 1830, under the efforts of the Government and of private enterprise. In 1842 there were more than two thousand private primary schools. The Government then made a law which raised primary education to a high degree of perfection. This law, the result of a laudable contest between the State and the Church, which made mutual concessions, permitted the teaching of religion in all the schools under the control of the clergy. Those who disagreed with this might have their own school, and wherever they were not numerous enough, they might, on the demand of the parents, be exempted from assisting at the religious instruction. This law gave such general satisfaction, that in 1878 more than half of the private schools erected previous to this law were absorbed into the communal schools. There was not a single village without its school. The last Catholic Ministry had expended 20 millions of francs in subsidies for the construction of schools. A healthy emulation was stirred up among the school-teachers, who were watched over and stimulated

by the inspectors. Schoolmasters and mistresses lived under the double influence of religion and pedagogic instruction in the excellent normal schools. In the religious atmosphere of the schools, children learned at one and the same time to serve God and their country, to obey the Church and the King, and to respect public authority. And such results acted as a powerful brake upon the revolutionary spirit which consumes our modern societies.

When the Catholic Ministry, after having been in power eight years, was overthrown in 1878, the Liberal Ministry, driven on by the Masonic Lodges, which had become atheistic, and by the Radicalism with which it had been obliged to associate itself, created a Minister of Public Instruction, and immediately started operations by banishing religion from the schools. It began with primary education. The law of 1842, which had never caused any dissatisfaction, was abolished, and a new law, which banished religion from education, or tolerated it only when given outside class hours, was presented to the two Chambers and passed in 1879. The royal sanction was accorded to it, notwithstanding that it had passed in the Senate only by a majority of one vote, that of M. Boyaval, senator of Bruges, who was carried, though at the time in almost a dying state, to the Senate Chamber to give his vote. It is a strange coincidence that this very senator had been elected in Bruges by a majority of one vote only.

The Bishops of Belgium having assembled at Mechlin, immediately condemned the new law as forcing secular schools on the people. The faithful were forbidden to send their children to the "godless schools," and Catholic masters were forbidden to teach in them. Without delay, all the masters and mistresses belonging to religious congregations gave in their resignations and left the communal schools. Many lay masters did the same, notwithstanding the loss of their right to a pension and of other advantages. A certain number, for legitimate reasons, were authorized to retain their posts. The faithful, urged on by their bishops and priests, built free schools, thus making use of the right they possessed according to the Constitution. Their efforts were prodigious. In one year two-thirds of the country parishes had one or two private schools, and the communal schools were completely deserted, or at best attended by an insignificant number of children, whose parents sent them there, compelled to do so by governmental pressure. This was the ruin of the official education. The Government, instantaneously deprived of its most conscientious and in general its ablest masters, was forced to supply their places with men unprepared for teaching. The following fact enables one to judge of the result. In Western

Flanders in 1878, whilst the law of 1842 was in force, the number of children frequenting the primary communal schools was 66,012. In 1881, according to the official statistics, this number had dwindled down to 19,912, which number, besides, was exaggerated by a good third.

The Government had thought that the opposition of the clergy would only be of short duration, and the leader of the Left and the head of the Cabinet, M. Frère-Orban, had declared before the whole Parliament that the Catholic efforts would terminate in "a pitiable abortion" (*pitoyable avortement*). The "abortion" did take place, but it was on the side of the Government, who were hardly able to keep any of the schools in a flourishing condition, except in the large cities, where Liberalism has a larger share of power.

After that there commenced a series of arbitrary and vexatious measures against the Catholics, which ended in disgusting the Liberals themselves. The Government, irritated by the opposition which it encountered, laid the blame first on the bishops and clergy, then upon the communes. In order to deceive the people and bring odium upon the clergy, it forced the schoolmasters, contrary to the existing law, to give catechetical instructions, and it paid them for it. Not having succeeded, in spite of all efforts, in discrediting the bishops with the Pope, it dismissed the Apostolic Nuncio and broke off all relations with Rome. The result was quite to the detriment of the Government, which from that time onward was deprived of the Papal influence. After that, private instruction, although formally authorized by the Constitution, was treated as an enemy to public order. The parish priests and curates were forbidden, under pain of losing the already little stipends they possessed, to teach the alphabet in the schools. Since the clergy, in spite of their little means, contributed largely to the maintenance of the free schools, the Government next tried to starve them. One after another the canons, professors of the *grands séminaires*, the coadjutors, a certain number of curates, and of army chaplains, were deprived of their stipends. Then the burses which, according to the Concordat of 1801, were accorded to the *grands séminaires*; exemption from military duty; subsidies for the constructing or repairing of churches, were successively suppressed, and the foundations made for Catholic education were seized upon. The budgets for the *fabriques* of churches, grants allowed for processions, benedictions, sermons, &c., were erased. In fact, the Government went as far as to arrogate to itself the right of deciding how many Masses might be said for a departed soul; and then, not content with taking upon itself the work of the sacristan, it went further, and enacted

severe penalties against priests who should preach of the "*loi de malheur*;" it expelled all foreign priests, and decreed that famous commission of inquiry (*enquête scolaire*) which, under the pretext of ascertaining the state of primary education, went about in all the villages striving to gather together whatever calumnies were possible against the clergy. This "inquiry" cost more than a million of francs, and occasioned a waste of money which, when denounced at the tribune by M. Woeste, provoked the indignation of the public.

At the same time the Communes were obliged to build schools on a palatial scale, which, however, remained empty, to increase the salaries of school masters and mistresses, and to pay masters who had no pupils. When the Communes refused to submit to this shameful squandering of their money, they were compelled to do so by commissioners appointed specially for the purpose. The Communes and the *fabriques* were forbidden to let their buildings or lands for free schools, under the anti-constitutional pretext that it would be against public order. On the other hand, normal schools for both sexes were multiplied beyond measure: they were built like palaces; grants were bestowed upon all the "normalists." In this way the Budget of Public Education, which in 1878 had been only ten millions of francs, was more than doubled in 1880 and the following years. The following curious statistics from West Flanders, were presented to Parliament by one of the ministers:—primary education cost in 1878, for 66,012 children, just 1,122,307 francs, or 17 francs per child; in 1881, for 19,912 children (an exaggerated number as mentioned above), 1,414,711 francs, or 71 francs per child. Speaking of the *arrondissement* of Courtrai alone, which contains 46 communes, he cited 15 communes where the two official schools for boys and girls had together less than 6 children who attended, and 13 communes where the communal schools had not one solitary child. Each of these communes had to pay between 4000 and 5000 francs for school masters and mistresses who had no other employment in the world but to keep themselves warm in the winter and contentedly stroll about in the summer.

This reckless waste, and the constant vexation it caused, stirred up the country and shocked a good number of the well-intentioned Liberals. This is what led to the triumph of the Catholics on the 10th of June last, and the overthrow of the Liberal party. "Belgium suffers not for long the yoke of servitude whencesoever it may come from," a poet has said—*Nescit Belga haereticum subire jugum*. It was the school law which, endeavouring to trample on the consciences of the people, ended by dragging the Frère-Orban Ministry into unconstitu-

tional proceedings and into that vexatious *modus agendi* which shocked all honest minds. The officious organ of the chief of the Cabinet, *L'Echo du Parlement*, acknowledged it the day after the defeat. The Liberal Ministry had been wrong in allowing itself to be drawn away by the advanced section—the Socialist and Republican fractions of the Left—at whose head stood M. Janson.

It must be confessed that the triumph of the Catholics was greater than they had expected. The Liberal Ministry had exercised such pressure upon the functionaries in the Service, and had so manipulated and altered the electoral laws to suit its own convenience, that it had confidently hoped to have rendered the struggle quite impossible. Besides, it seemed absurd to expect that the Brussels deputation, which consisted of sixteen members, would be overthrown. The Liberal party is so strongly supported in the capital by the Masonic Lodges, the communal and provincial authorities, the free university, and the thousand and one seductions to be met with in all capitals, as to make the struggle within it truly a difficult one.

Nevertheless, the Catholic and Conservative party, which had struggled there as elsewhere for the schools, undertook the political campaign. The old saying, "Fais ce que tu dois, advienne que pourra," ought never be forgotten. The Catholics fought at Brussels to fulfil their duty as citizens. As the Brussels deputation was gangrened with radicalism—eight of its members belonging to the "advanced" party, which desired a change in the Constitution, together with the annihilation of religion, even a revolution itself—a small part of the well-minded and moderate Liberals joined with the Catholics under the name of "Independents," and a mixed list was formed which passed entire the poll on June 10. The victory of the Conservative party was so complete that out of all the members of the Left put forward for re-election only two were successful. Such a result was unprecedented. The next day the principal organ of the Left wrote as follows:—"It is not a defeat; it is a disaster." All the Liberal papers expressed themselves in a similar fashion. The true cause of the disaster is the school law of 1879. *L'Echo du Parlement*, M. Frère-Orban's organ, admitted it openly. The Catholics, in spite of this triumph, hitherto without a parallel in the annals of our electoral campaigns, did not for an instant think of crushing down the vanquished, but only of repairing the waste of money, and the refusal of justice which the Liberal Ministry had been guilty of. On the 11th of June the *Journal de Bruxelles*, the most authoritative paper of the Catholic party, wrote as follows:—"We have triumphed, not to take away liberty from our vanquished adversaries, but rather to restore it

to all." The Liberal party did not show this moderation, dictated by the spirit of justice; it had but one resource; to rush into the streets and arm itself with paving-stones, and to trample in the hour of triumph on its adversaries. We shall see the revolutionary characters breaking out into all manner of shameful excesses.

After their overthrow, the Liberal Ministry knew that their time was come, and that nothing remained for them but to retire. They accordingly handed in their resignations to the king, who thereupon instructed M. Malou, chief of the Right, to form a new Cabinet. That peculiar invention of the Liberals, which was so odious in the sight of the Catholics, the Ministry of Public Instruction, was suppressed, and re-united to the Ministry of the Interior, as was the case previous to 1879. The new ministers, after taking the usual oaths before the king, set energetically to work, and the era of reparation began. It consisted in undoing all that the Liberal Ministry had effected since 1879: in overthrowing the whole edifice of secular education, and of the godless schools which it had been the great aim of the fallen party to set up, finally to destroy the hopes and aspirations which had been for five years indulged in by the Liberals.

The Liberal party cannot resign itself to defeat; no longer possessing power, it tears up the paving-stones from the streets, manifesting everywhere its revolutionary sentiments. It demands liberty, but only for itself; its opponents are fit only to be oppressed. Let the elections favour them, and then, in very truth, the elections are the expression of the nation; but let them be unfavourable, and then public opinion has been duped. However, the crash of the 10th of June was so complete, that Liberalism was for a time stunned and unable to offer opposition. The new Cabinet was obliged straightway to dissolve the Senate, where there was still a feeble Liberal majority. This was its first act. In a ministerial circular, the employés of the State were informed they should vote according to their conscience, and were cautioned not to allow Governmental influence to have any weight upon the electors. This was the reverse of Liberalism which cries out, it is true, for liberty, but maintains itself by enslaving its subjects. The elections gave a strong majority to the Catholics. The Liberal Senators of Antwerp and Ghent, together with some others, were overthrown. At Brussels there was a slight re-action; the first scrutiny was indecisive, but in the "ballotage" the Liberals proved to have succeeded. This local success, due to the influence of the Liberal press, which is more read than the Catholic press, and besides counter-balanced by the defeat of Ghent and Antwerp, infused fresh courage into the vanquished: they raised their heads once more.

The new Cabinet continued its work of reparation with energy.

Ministerial circulars were issued, suppressing the special Commissioners, who had been appointed by the preceding Ministry to enforce the payment towards the schools on the part of recalcitrant communes: the just arrangements which had previous to 1878 regulated the church endowments and *fabriques* were re-established. An extraordinary session of the Chambers was convoked. The "credit" for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See was renewed. But the greatest question of all was the abolition of the law of 1879 on primary education.

The new Cabinet, continuing its work of reparation, but at the same time of pacification and moderation, presented a new project, which put an end at once to the wasteful expenditure of money on schools, and left to the communes liberty to organize elementary instruction according to the wishes of the populations. Thus the large towns, in the hands of the Liberal *conseils communaux*, were enabled to retain their secular schools, and the country communes might get rid of teachers, who had been imposed upon them despite their wishes. These teachers received a suitable provisional salary. Twenty heads of families having children of their own, of school age, might compel the commune to furnish them with a Catholic or neutral school, according to their desire. In case of a refusal, the Government could adopt and subsidize the school which had been demanded. As it was impossible to re-establish the law of 1842, this arrangement was accepted by the different parties concerned. Though it occasioned the disappearance of the chief causes of complaint, it did not give entire satisfaction to the Catholics. The law of 1879 had commanded the communes to have none but neutral schools. The new project allowed the Liberals to keep their secular schools, but at the same time granted permission to the Catholics to have "confessional" schools. Thus it seemed that every one's interest was studied. It was a law of pacification. But Liberalism wants everything for itself, nothing for others! The project was accordingly bitterly opposed by M. Frère-Orban and the Left. It was passed, however, by a large majority in both Chambers. Its principal articles are as follows:—

Art. 1.—There is in each commune at least one communal school situated in a suitable place.

The commune may adopt one or several private schools, in which case the King, after consulting with the permanent deputation, may dispense the commune from the obligation of establishing or maintaining a communal school: this dispensation may not be accorded, if twenty heads of families having children of an age to attend school oppose the establishment or maintenance of a school for the instruc-

tion of their children, and at the same time the counsel of the permanent deputation be conformable to their request.

Art. 2.—The primary communal schools are directed by the communes.

The communal council may determine, according to the requirements of the locality, the number of schools and of teachers. It also regulates, if necessary, all that concerns the establishment and organization of *écoles gardiennes* (day nurseries) and schools for adults.

Art. 3.—Poor children receive instruction gratuitously. (Various detailed prescriptions follow.)

Art. 4.—Primary education necessarily includes reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, the legal system of weights and measures, the elements of the French language, and also of Flemish or German, according to the requirements of the place, geography, the history of Belgium, the elements of drawing, singing, and gymnastics. Moreover, it includes needlework for girls, and, for boys in the rural communes, the elements of agriculture.

The communes have the power of adding to the programme whatever extensions are recognized as possible and useful.

The communes can place the teaching of religion and morals at the head of the programme for all or any of the primary schools. This instruction must be given at the beginning or end of the classes, and children whose parents object will be dispensed from assisting at it.

When in any commune twenty heads of families, having children old enough for school, request that their children may be dispensed from attending a course of religious instruction, the King can enforce the establishment of one or more special classes for such children.

If, in spite of the demand of twenty heads of families having children old enough for school, the commune refuses to insert religious instruction in the programme of studies, or prevents in any way the instruction being given by ministers of their own religion, or by persons sanctioned by themselves, the Government may at the request of the parents adopt one or more private schools, according to their necessities, provided that they fulfil all the conditions requisite for being adopted by the commune.

Art. 5.—The teacher must apply himself with equal care to the education and instruction of the pupils committed to his charge. He must neglect no occasion of instilling into the minds of his pupils the precepts of morality, the sentiment of duty, love of their country, respect for national institutions, and affection for constitutional liberty. He must abstain in his instruction from all attack upon the religious convictions of the families whose children are entrusted to his care.

The remaining articles assign to the commune the right of the nomination and dismissal of teachers, determine their salaries, and regulate everything that concerns normal schools, their inspection and hours of class.

Liberalism, defeated in Parliament, had recourse to the strong measures which had succeeded in 1857 and in 1870; an appeal was made to the mob. From the first meetings for the discussion of the law, the members of the Right and the King's ministers were hooted and hissed as they came out of the palace by a party of roughs. The Burgomaster of Brussels, M. Buls, one of those rejected in June, allowed the mob, which did not number a thousand persons and which the police could have dispersed in five minutes,* to act as it pleased. For several consecutive days the same uproar occurred under the eyes of the police, who remained indifferent and inactive. The governor of Brabant had to intervene both to re-establish order and prevent the representatives of the people from receiving further insults. And, what was against all precedent, one of the fallen ministers, M. Bara, dared to propose a vote of censure against the Chamber for the perfectly legal act that had been passed by it to repress disorder. Then the burgomaster of Brussels had recourse to other measures, he summoned all the Liberal burgomasters to send in a petition against the law and prevent it from receiving the sanction of the king. At the same time the street disturbances still continued, but under a more legal form. The Catholics answered the demonstrations of their opponents by similar demonstrations, while the Liberals held their demonstration in one part of the town, the Catholic procession paraded the other. This was not exactly what the Liberals liked. A mass meeting of the Liberals was organized for Sunday, August 31st; the Catholics wished to oppose it by an anti-demonstration on the same day, but M. Buls would not permit it. Only the Liberals were allowed to assemble. Their meeting, which consisted of twenty or thirty thousand persons, was able to parade the streets in full liberty without receiving the slightest molestation during its progress along the route that had been marked out for it, up to the gates of the royal palace, where it presented a petition against the law that had just been passed. The Catholics respected the liberty of their opponents, and allowed their procession to pass without the slightest disturbance, but they at once demanded that they should be allowed to hold a similar meeting and in their turn parade the city on the following Sunday. M. Buls gave the necessary authorization, marked out the route by which they should proceed to the palace, and promised that the security of the processionists should be protected by the police. He gave his word as burgomaster that the procession should not be molested.

* According to the Belgian laws, the Burgomaster of Brussels, and not the Government, controls the police of the capital.

Trusting to this promise, from eighty to a hundred thousand Catholics, who had come from all parts of the country with bands, banners and emblems, assembled on the 7th of September at mid-day before the Gare du Midi, and commenced their march across Brussels, quite defenceless and fully confiding in the good faith of the burgomaster's promise. At a pre-arranged signal the procession was broken through, the banners snatched from the hands of the bearers, the processionists insulted, hooted, hissed, and even assaulted under the very eyes of the police, who were either quite helpless, or were accomplices in the attack, and of the *garde civique*, who protected only the assailants. This ambuscade caused much displeasure throughout the land, and has branded the name of M. Buisson with an ineffaceable stain. In spite of the dishonour which this shameful attack brought upon the Liberal party, the burgomaster of Brussels had the audacity to assemble his colleagues from the large towns and beg an audience of the king in order that they might transmit to him the petitions of the Communal Councils against the law. The deputation was received in the palace on 18th September. His majesty gave it this royal answer: "I receive your petition as being the expression of the wishes of a great number of citizens invested with the office of magistrate. But, gentlemen, I have also received, as you well know, very numerous petitions couched in terms directly contrary to yours. In presence of such conflicting opinions I am bound to act in conformity with the will of the nation as manifested to me by the majorities of the two Chambers. You are too kind when you praise me for my wisdom, but I accept without reserve all that you say to me about my scrupulous fulfilment of the duties of a constitutional sovereign. I shall always remain faithful to my oath; as far as I can, I shall always try to ensure the regular progress of our parliamentary *régime*. I shall make no distinction between Belgians. I shall do for one party whatever I have done for the other. My conduct was the same in 1879 as now. In using my prerogative in accordance with the spirit of our fundamental law, I am serving Belgium—our two great parties of the noble cause of liberty to which I am so deeply attached."

After this declaration the law was sanctioned and came into force on September 20th.

The burgomasters withdrew in great confusion; but did not dare to question this energetic step, which had been taken in perfect conformity with their constitutional system. The *Echo du Parlement* was compelled to say: "On whatever day the law be promulgated we shall respect it; we shall obey the law." But the less respectable part of the press was not so scrupulous; it recommenced fomenting discontent, and even

went so far as threaten the king. Its language became scurrilous. Every day there were demonstrations. The ministers were again insulted. The king himself did not escape this time. He was insulted at a distribution of prizes at which he was present, and even the queen was not respected by them. Very soon there might be heard from nearly all the French refugees cries of "Vive la Republique!" Many journals added hereto threats of further troubles if the Catholics should triumph in the communal elections, which occurred in October. Innumerable falsehoods were spread abroad concerning the school question. The teachers, who, up to this, had been pampered beyond measure, were set to pose as martyrs suffering great persecutions. In Brussels, the teachers made many parents believe that they were about to lose their salaries, while all the time there was not the slightest chance of this taking place. The falsehood had serious consequences, thanks to the diffusion of the Liberal press. In the capital the Liberals, by joining the Radicals, the Progressists, the Socialists, and revolutionists of all kinds, gained a large majority. The same thing occurred at Antwerp and at Liège. On the other hand, the Catholics formed the majority in nearly all the small towns. In short, taking the whole country into consideration, the Catholics were the more powerful body. But the loss suffered by them in the large towns, known as it was before the result of the country elections, made a great impression.

The day after the communal elections of the 20th of October, the king signified to the chief of the Cabinet his intention of dismissing two of his ministers, against whom the Liberal press was particularly incensed. These two ministers were M. Jacobs and M. Woeste. M. Malou pointed out to his majesty that the elections were on the whole favourable to the Conservatives, and that there was no special fault to find with these two ministers. As his majesty persisted in his intention, the chief of the Cabinet thought proper to retire with his colleagues. This act, performed by the king in the plenitude of his constitutional rights, caused great discontent among the Catholic body. The irritation was manifested in meetings, in the language of the Conservative press, in addresses to the resigning ministers, and even in addresses to the king. The dismissal of the two ministers was looked upon as something that had been forced from the king by fear. The Liberal party, encouraged by this first success, began to clamour still more loudly, and to demand the dissolution of both Chambers. Such a concession as this would have altogether violated constitutional institutions. The king would not or dared not proceed to such an extremity; one of the remaining ministers was appointed to reconstitute the Cabinet. A meeting

of members of the Right, specially summoned, decided upon remaining in power. Two days after, the resigning ministers were replaced by other members of the Right. M. Thonissen, professor at the University of Louvain, a writer distinguished both in literature and in law, who was the member for Hasselt, accepted the office of Minister of the Interior, whose duty it was to bring the school law into force. Apparently the election of the learned deputy of Hasselt, who was admired and esteemed by all parties, has restored a little calm. The disturbances in the streets have ceased, and the discussions in Parliament are not interrupted by any noisy scenes.

Such is the historical and exact account of the crisis through which we have been passing. In it the Liberals have proved themselves to be what they are in reality—a disorderly body, fomenters of disturbance, consumed by their insatiable desire for power, seeking to regain it *per fas et nefas*, and if once they lose it, stopping short at nothing, and fully deserving the name bestowed upon them—*le parti de l'émeute*.

On the other hand, the Conservatives have shown great spirit, and a firmness that nothing could shake. Their ministers have displayed as much political wisdom as talent and energy. Still it would be wrong to trust too soon to present security; the opposition journals have not yet ceased to make use of violent and misleading language, and the public peace is still in considerable danger of being disturbed by their continual provocations. All lovers of peace ought to unite, if they would avert the danger. The sudden change in the Ministry brought about by the street disturbances, weakens the power and tends to pervert the spirit of the national institutions. If these violent means are still to prevail, our fundamental pact will be ruined. There is another circumstance which is sure to cause alarm in any serious thinker, and that is the monstrous alliance of the Liberals with all the revolutionary parties. Had it not been for the Republicans, the Radicals, and the Socialists, the Liberals would never have triumphed in the communal elections of Brussels. Without their assistance, and notwithstanding all the alterations that have been made by the fallen Ministry, the party of M. Buisson would have been overthrown.

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Thus far had we written for the January number of this Review. Since then, the new Ministry has been not a little consolidated and Liberalism weakened by its internal divisions. Recent discussions in the Chamber of Representatives furnish some useful information, which may now be added to what we have already said on the state of elementary education in Belgium, and the crisis brought about by the new law. We may pass by

the unjustifiable violence of language which Liberal members permitted themselves in the discussion on the Budget of Public Education. For the honour of the Belgian Parliament, which numbers so many men of high worth, let us throw a veil over these ugly features of passion. M. Thonissen replied to his opponents with a precision and moderation of language that was in strong contrast to their want of both. And he furnished details concerning the state of primary education in Belgium, which may prove interesting.

The total expenditure in Belgium in the cause of elementary education in 1882, amounted to 37,118,000 francs (£1,484,720), in round numbers, assessed as follows (the amounts being in francs):—Cash in hand, 1,519,617; school fees, 1,044,274; foundations, gifts, legacies, 146,829; other gratuities, 45,345; bureaux de bienfaisance, 588,768; communes, 13,882,742; provinces, 2,317,600; the State, 17,578,023.

On the other side, expenses towards general management amounted to 659,321 francs; head inspectors costing 374,751, and cantonal inspectors, 284,570; primary normal teaching cost 3,179,479; expenses for building, mending, and furnishing schools and teachers' houses amounted to 9,788,650; the annual working of primary schools and of primary girls' schools, with the *programme développé*, make a total of 19,249,016; and those of the *écoles gardiennes*, 3,641,890. "Encouragements" amount to 599,843, gifts and donations towards them from Liberals amounting to the ridiculous total of 5,933, whilst the column for "publications and 'missions' towards the object of elementary teaching" comes to a total of 82,772.

Such are the edifying statistics of a year's accounts under the Ministry which was overturned in June. To appreciate the awful squandering of public money, it must be borne in mind that the official schools did not contain half the children of the country. For in the cities and in most villages the Catholics, using the liberty granted by the constitution, had erected at their own cost, by the side of the official schools, their own free schools, and with such success, that of the 4,797 communal schools, 270 were either absolutely empty or could not count ten scholars. This the inspectors themselves acknowledge.

The present Ministry has much reduced school expenses. The budget for 1885 economizes to the extent of four and a half millions of francs under the head of "the State" alone. We must remark, too, that the budget thus diminished under every head, is yet three millions more than the one before 1879, when all the children, except very few, went to the official schools.

The law of the 20th September, 1884, leaves the communes

free to insert religious instruction in the syllabus of elementary teaching; they are also left free, under certain conditions, to adopt the free schools and to suppress useless schools. Acting on this, the suppression of 836 of the 4,797 communal schools existing at the beginning of 1884 has already been asked for; whilst up to the present the minister has granted only from 25 to 30 of these petitions. On the other hand, communes have adopted 1,180 of the free schools which combine all the conditions demanded for elementary teaching. Of a total of 8,652 teachers, 792 have been "*mis en disponibilité*," with interim salaries, often very high ones.

In communicating the above details and figures to the Chamber, M. Thonissen added:—

The sketch which I have traced of the real situation as regards schools would be incomplete, the truth would not be in clear relief, if I omitted to draw your attention to the large number of resolutions spontaneously adopted by the communes, unaffected by any Governmental influence. These resolutions are significant. They attest that the neutral system was repugnant (*antipathique*) to the Belgian people. The fall of the Bill of 1879 has assumed in all the provinces, even in those where liberal opinion prevails, the character of a *real deliverance*.

Everywhere the communal councils have been prompt to reject neutral teaching and to make religious teaching obligatory. And yet, I hasten to say, the Government has not used any pressure whatever.

In the province of Antwerp 35 communes have decided to insert religious teaching in their programmes. Others are disposed to have that teaching done by the ministers of religion.

In the province of Mechlin, of 88 communes, 80 have taken the same resolution.

In the province of Brussels, inquiry shows 114 communes having 184 schools where religious instruction forms part of the course, either *de fait* or by a decision of the communal council.

In the province of Louvain 145 communes have inserted religion. "All the other communes," says the inspector, "except Louvain itself, are inclined to have religious instruction given in their schools; they are at present engaged with the necessary preliminaries."

In the province of Bruges 65 communes have adopted religious teaching, and three others are inclined to do so. In Courtrai 71 communes have adopted it. It has also been adopted by the 184 communes of Alost, and by 40 of Ghent, the inspector of which last province writes: "I believe I may affirm that in this province the step will be general and without exception." In the province of Charleroi the capital is the only exception to the actual or intended adoption of the religious programme. In the province of Mans 37 communes have adopted the change by a special resolution, and 69 others show a disposition to follow the example.

In Tournay 45 communes have adopted religion into the school

course; the rest, with a few exceptions, appear ready to follow suit. In Liège 124 communes, in Hug 206 communes have made the actual change; in Limburg the town of Hasselt has not made known its intentions, but all the other communes have already made religion obligatory.

In the province of Arlon 99, in that of Marche 95, and in that of Dinant 99 communes, all either show a desire to change or have actually done so; in Namur 174 communes have made their decision in favour of religion.

Definite information is not yet to hand for a few communes; but already it is possible to affirm in a general way, that with the exception of Brussels and its *faubourgs*, Antwerp, Louvain, Charleroi, Liège, Hug, and a small number of other towns, the communes of Belgium have of their own accord pronounced against neutral teaching. The system of the law of 1879 is rejected by the country.

It appears, therefore, that the school contest draws to a close. It will still go on for a while in Brussels and a few other large towns where power is in the hands of the Masonic Lodges. The city of Ghent, although governed by a Liberal administration, has been the first to enter on the path of conciliation, having concluded an arrangement with the Bishop of Ghent for having religious teaching by the clergy in all the communal schools of the city. The conditions are: 1st. That the character of the ecclesiastics who go to the schools shall be respected by both teachers and scholars. 2nd. That the teachers shall not go in any way against the instructions given by the clergy. 3rd. That the books used in school shall contain nothing against the teachings of religion. 4th. That the teachers shall take care that the children know by heart the lesson of the week. Namur and other towns have followed suit. Conditions very nearly the same as those made by the Bishop of Ghent have been adopted in the other cases. Not a few communes have made their arrangements *vivâ voce* with the clergy.

ART. V.—THE ORIGIN OF TERRESTRIAL LIFE.

IF the Nebular Hypothesis be accepted as a true account of the origin of our planet, this earth was at one time a revolving and rotating mass of enormous size (compared with its present size), and of enormous heat; for it can hardly be doubted that intense heat was the cause of its diffused nebulous condition. At the time it threw off the ring which became the moon, its diameter was nearly half a million of miles; and, during the long ages it was condensing to its present dimensions, it was continually radiating heat and cooling down.

But, whether we accept the Nebular Hypothesis or not, it is certain, from the very shape of the earth, as an oblate spheroid—which is the form a fluid or semi-fluid mass would assume under rotation—and also from the vast stores of heat which still occupy its interior, that it was at one time, and when little larger than at present, in a semi-fluid or molten state, in which nothing living could exist.

Life, therefore, must have had a beginning on this planet. Whence did it spring? How are we to account for its appearance?

If the fanciful and perhaps hardly serious suggestion, that a meteor from some other planet may have conveyed to this the first germs of life, be dismissed as not only most improbable, but as only throwing back the difficulty a step (for whence did the other planet receive *its* life?), we have before us two theories of the origin of terrestrial life.

The upholders of Evolution in its strictest and completest sense maintain that life sprung from *matter*, that when certain elements of matter happened to combine in due proportions, life and the phenomena of life necessarily resulted as the effect of that combination, just as, when oxygen and hydrogen chemically combine, water is the result. Life being viewed by the Physicists as merely a "property of matter," they demand nothing more than a peculiar arrangement of the molecules of matter to account for its origin.

On the other hand, the Vitalists, or those who believe that life is a principle or force, distinct from the matter it vitalizes, hold that there was a moment when that vital force or principle was first imparted to matter, in order to originate living organisms.

Dismissing, as far as possible, all prejudices and preconceptions, let us endeavour to see to which of these two opposite opinions a scientific view of the material and living worlds would lead us.

And, first, be it remarked, that we know nothing of what lifeless

matter is *in itself*, and nothing of what living matter is *in itself*; we only know them by their properties—that is, by the phenomena they respectively exhibit.

But these properties are most notably different, nay, directly contrary the one to the other.

Look at a lifeless piece of matter. It is not absolutely motionless, for, under the influences of the physical forces which are ever and everywhere at work, its molecules are incessantly vibrating; but, as a mass, it is passive and motionless, possessing no source of active change, solely acted on from without. This is what we mean when we call matter “inert.”

Contrast this passive inert state with the phenomena presented by a living being, however humble and simple. Take one of the lowest in the scale of being—the “amoeba.” It is a mere tiny jelly-like lump of granulated matter, to all appearance destitute of structure or organization, without limbs or eyes or mouth or stomach. Yet its whole existence is one of action and movement. It is aware when any particle of organic matter is near to it which it can turn into nourishment, and out of its shapeless mass it extemporizes an arm, and seizes its prey, and draws it to itself, and thrusts it into its soft substance, and in that temporary and extemporized stomach the morsel is digested and assimilated. It moves about, it grows, it comes to maturity, it multiplies itself by fusion, and forms new individuals. In short, it is a lump of jelly manifesting the very functions we see in organized beings far higher in the scale of being.

When, therefore, lifeless matter and living matter possess these diametrically opposite properties, surely it is rash and unphilosophical on the part of the physicist, *without adducing cogent proof or reason*, to assert that the former can produce the latter. Surely the *onus* lies on him to *prove* that life, with all its activities and wonderful functions, is solely due to a certain arrangement of the molecules of inert matter. And in the absence of any such proof, surely we are justified in believing that life is distinct from the matter it animates; and that when it first appeared upon the earth, it was through the intervention (direct or indirect) of that Power which had created matter.

But perhaps the physicist *can* adduce sufficient reasons, if not to prove his opinion, at least to make it probable. Let us see.

Biologists are generally agreed in this—that the “matter of life,” or the stuff of which living bodies are composed, is essentially the same in all living beings; and that it is an albuminous substance (such, for example, as we see in the “white of egg”), and composed of carbonic acid, water, and ammonia, or more ultimately, of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, in very high combining proportions; and often accompanied by

minute quantities of sulphur, phosphorus, iron, and some other metals.

This albuminous compound has been called "protoplasm," or perhaps more correctly, "bioplasm;" and it may be considered the "*life-medium*"—that is, a medium which is essential for the exhibition of life, in something the same way as the atmosphere is a medium for the conveyance of sound, or the æther for the propagation of light.

Now Professor Huxley, in his well-known Essay, "*The Physical Basis of Life*," argues thus:—

Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, are all lifeless bodies. Of these, carbon and oxygen, united in certain proportions and under certain conditions, give rise to carbonic acid; hydrogen and oxygen produce water; nitrogen and hydrogen give rise to ammonia. These new compounds, like the elementary bodies of which they are composed, are lifeless. But when they are brought together under certain conditions they give rise to the still more complex body, protoplasm; and this protoplasm exhibits the phenomena of life. I see no break in this series of steps in molecular complication; and I am unable to understand why the language which is applicable to any one in the series may not be used to any of the others. When hydrogen and oxygen are mixed in a certain proportion, and an electric spark is passed between them, they disappear, and a quantity of water, equal to the sum of their weights, appears in their place. Is the case in any way changed when carbonic acid, water, and ammonia disappear, and in their place, under the influence of pre-existing protoplasm, an equivalent weight of the matter of life makes its appearance? If the properties of water may be properly said to result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules, I can find no intelligible ground for refusing to say that the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of *its* molecules.

Again, speaking of the properties of water in a liquid and solid state, he says:—

We call these the properties of water, and we do not hesitate to believe that in some way or another they result from the properties of the component elements of water. We do not assume that a something called "*Aquosity*" entered into and took possession of the oxide of hydrogen as soon as it was formed, and then guided the aqueous particles to their places in the facets of the crystal, or among the leaflets of the hoar-frost. What justification is there, then, for the assumption of the existence in the living matter of a something which has no representative or correlative in the not-living matter which gave rise to it? What better philosophical status has "*Vitality*" than "*Aquosity*"?

To this argument I reply, first, that it offers no kind of direct

proof of the doctrine advocated, but merely argues from *analogy* that it is probable. Anything like a direct proof would have shown the way, or at least indicated some possible way, in which the phenomena of life may be conceived as arising from a combination of dead matter. Nothing of the kind is attempted. The argument simply is:—Carbon and oxygen combine to form carbonic acid, nitrogen and hydrogen combine to form ammonia, oxygen and hydrogen combine to form water; *therefore, from analogy*, we are justified in believing that carbonic acid, ammonia, and water combined together, and *nothing but these*, are the source of living matter.

The question then is, Is this a real and sound analogy? If it be so, the *conditions* under which these various combinations of matter are made must be *essentially similar*; and just as the chemist combines his carbon and oxygen to make carbonic acid, and his nitrogen and hydrogen to produce ammonia, and his oxygen and hydrogen to produce water, so, if he is to do something *analogous*, he must be able to combine his carbonic acid, ammonia and water to produce living protoplasm. A cursory reader of Professor Huxley's argument might suppose that the chemist *can* do this. As all experiment demonstrates, he is powerless to do it. Living protoplasm is only formed by the influence and operation of *antecedent living* protoplasm. The very force or principle of vitality which Professor Huxley rejects as a needless supposition, is the very force or principle which Nature shows to be *indispensable* in the formation of living bodies.

Thus there is no real analogy between the cases in question, for in the pretended analogue an essential condition must be present, which is not in any way represented in the cases which are supposed to lead up to it. The analogy being unsound, the argument which is built on it falls to the ground.

If a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen could only combine to form water, under the influence and operation of pre-existing water, it would be a very unscientific and unphilosophical account of the transaction to omit this latter indispensable condition; and we might rightly express the unknown influence of the pre-existing water by some such terms as "aquosity," or the "water-force." Equally, therefore, is it unscientific and unphilosophical to attribute the phenomena of life to the albuminous compound alone, when it is certain that it becomes possessed of life only by the influence or operation of pre-existing life.

And how can we better express that ascertained fact than by calling that which operates, or exerts the influence, the "life-force" or "vitality"?

Thus vitality *has* a perfectly "philosophical status," whilst "aquosity" has none at all.

Professor Huxley is of too vigorous an intellect, and is too practised a logician, not to foresee that his argument might thus be turned against himself; and he endeavours (so at least it seems to me) to weaken the force of the reply by insinuating that what the "electric spark" is in the production of water, such only is the influence of the pre-existing life in the production of living protoplasm.

In a subsequent passage, he more distinctly implies that there is a parallelism between the two cases; for whilst acknowledging that "the influence of pre-existing living matter is something quite inexplicable," he adds, "but does any one *quite* comprehend the *modus operandi* of an electric spark which traverses a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen?"

The question is not as to the amount of our comprehension, for we are equally ignorant of the *modus operandi* of either force, as indeed we are of the *modus operandi* of every other force in nature. The question is, Is there a real parallelism between the two cases? The Professor's implied assumption seems to be, that as the electric spark operates by uniting the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, and then ceases to operate, so, in like manner, pre-existing life operates in forming protoplasm, and after doing that, ceases to exert any influence on it. If this be not the implied assumption, the comparison he has suggested between the two cases would have no bearing on his argument.

Now, as every day's observation may convince us, it is simply untrue that protoplasm, once formed under the influence of living protoplasm, can continue to exhibit the phenomena of life *without the uninterrupted continuance of that influence*. Cut off the limb of a living man, and it is protoplasm still—protoplasm which has been formed under the influence of life; but it exhibits none of the phenomena of life.

If, therefore, the electric spark, after bringing together the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, has finished its work and has no further influence in holding together the molecules of the resulting water—a fact which seems very doubtful, for, on the decomposition of that water into its component gases, the electricity is again liberated, and has probably, therefore, been doing *some* kind of work, perhaps in the form of molecular attraction; but if, I say, it be held to be good science that the electric spark has accomplished its entire task in combining together the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, then there is no parallelism between the two cases in question. If, on the other hand, after bringing together the atoms of the two gases, it *does* continue its work in some guise or other, then there *is* a kind of analogy between the two cases, but one which is at the expense of Professor Huxley's implied argument.

The physicist's contention is that life is a "*property*" of a peculiar combination of matter. Now, what do we mean by a "*property*" of a thing, in scientific language? We mean something which inseparably and indispensably belongs to it; so that if the thing in question could be deprived of it, it would cease to be that thing. For example, it is a property of water that, under a given atmospheric pressure, it is solid at a certain temperature, liquid at another, vapour at a third. If any fluid, however, resembling water, did not fulfil these precise conditions, it would not be water, but some other substance.

Apply this test to protoplasm. At one moment, whilst forming part of a living man, it exhibits the phenomena of life; separate it from that living subject, and it is dead matter—still protoplasm, but incapable of manifesting life. Therefore, if we are to adhere to scientific terms and ideas, life is *not* a property of protoplasm, or of any other combination of matter, but only of matter which has been formed by the operation, and is *constantly vitalized by the operation*, of some special and mysterious force or principle.

The controversy between the Biogenists and the Abiogenists—that is, between those who deny and those who maintain spontaneous generation—has been going on for more than two centuries, and for the greater part of that time with varying fortune, first one side then the other claiming the victory.

But during the last fifty years, when experiment had become more exact and more exacting, and when a new light had been thrown on the subject by Schwann's discovery, that putrefaction is due to decomposition of organic matter, caused by the multiplication therein of minute organisms, and can be prevented by their exclusion, and especially during the last twenty years of Pasteur's and Helmholtz's more refined experiments, the conviction has been forced on the scientific mind that "even in the lower reaches of the scale of being, life does not appear without the operation of antecedent life." *

No Englishman has had so great a share in settling this most important controversy as Professor Tyndall, who is as skilful in experiment as he is eloquent in description. "To be a disciplined experimenter (he most truly says) implies the ability, not merely to look at things as Nature offers them to our inspection, but to force her to show herself under conditions prescribed by the experimenter himself." Acting on this golden rule—with a patience as great as his genius—putting Nature to the test by every variety of experiment and under every variety of condition,

* Professor Tyndall, "Spontaneous Generation." *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1878.

Professor Tyndall has convinced himself, and all who are capable of appreciating the demonstration he offers, that "no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life, in our day, has ever appeared independently of antecedent life."*

Why, then, does Professor Tyndall "see in matter the promise and potentiality of all terrestrial life"? If he has satisfied himself that matter *now* does not give rise to the lowest and minutest forms of life, *why* should he suppose that, in the beginning of things, the case was reversed, and life arose from matter? Has he reason to believe that matter was essentially different then from what it is now? He would emphatically deny it. Or that there were physical forces in operation then which have now ceased to operate? The modern doctrine of the persistency of force invalidates the supposition.

In an article written in 1865 he says:—

Supposing a planet carved from the sun, and set spinning round an axis, and sent revolving round the sun at a distance equal to that of our earth, would one consequence of the refrigeration of the mass be the development of organic forces? *I lean to the affirmative.* Structural forces are certainly in the mass, whether or not those forces reach to the extent of forming a plant or animal. In a drop of water lie latent all the marvels of crystalline force; and who will *set limits* to the possible play of molecules in a cooling planet?

I should have thought that his own experiments as to abiogenesis would have "set those limits," or at least have suggested them. The atoms of matter in his laboratory are the same as they were in the young earth. He can raise his hermetically sealed infusions to what degree of heat he chooses, and thus bring them to the temperature of "a cooling planet," but all in vain; no life or symptom of life results.

Surely, then, so far as science can decide the question, it would have been expected that, in the supposition I have quoted above, such an eminently scientific mind would have *leaned* to the *negative* rather than to the affirmative.

What is the motive force which has caused it to lean in so unexpected a direction? Is it not that it is so prepossessed and fascinated by an over-mastering idea—the outcome by evolution of all things from matter—that the intimations of Science herself are powerless to throw doubt on that all-embracing conception? †

* "Spontaneous Generation: a Last Word." *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1878.

† I speak, of course, only of the biasing influence which (as I cannot but think) the hypothesis of evolution *unconsciously* exerts upon Professor Tyndall's mind. For I know well how loyal to all *perceived* truth that mind is; and that its very labours in the cause of Biogenism are a signal instance of that loyalty.

In a discourse delivered before the British Association at Liverpool, Professor Tyndall, speaking of those who hold the strict evolution doctrine, said :

In the utter absence of any proof of the illegality of the act, they *prolong the method of Nature from the present into the past.* Here the *observed uniformity of Nature is their only guide.* Having determined the elements of their curve in a world of *observation and experiment*, they *prolong that curve into an antecedent world*, and accept as probable the unbroken sequence of development from the nebula to the present time.

Excellent principles, and most eloquently expressed ! But how have they been observed in practice ? If "observation and experiment" have convinced Professor Tyndall that life *now* only springs from life, and never from matter, he is surely *not* following "his only guide;" he is going directly *contrary* to the principle of the "uniformity of Nature," when he thinks it probable that in "an antecedent world" life *did* spring from matter.

Instead of "prolonging the method of Nature from the present into the past," he claims for Nature in the past a "method" which he denies to Nature in the present ; and is thus contravening the very principle on which, according to him, the doctrine of evolution can alone logically rest.

For my part, if it could be proved to me that a chemist had "brought together" carbon and nitrogen and oxygen and hydrogen, and had so cunningly combined them as to produce "protoplasm exhibiting the phenomena of life," my belief in the "uniformity of Nature" would compel me to acknowledge that the beginning of life on this earth was probably due to mere natural causes, and that the notion of any "life-force," distinct from the known physical forces, is a superfluous notion.

In the absence, or rather failure, of any such exploit of the laboratory, it appears that I have the warrant of Science for the belief that when life first appeared upon this globe it was due—not to any rupture in the previous chain of cause and effect, for these acted and interacted as before, in the wide realm of the inorganic world—but to the *incoming of a new cause*, the inbreathing of a new and marvellous *endowment*.

It thus seems to me that the voice of Science corroborates the witness of a diviner voice, in bidding us acknowledge that the self-existent Power which, in the beginning, had created matter, revealed Itself, in the fullness of time, as "the Lord and GIVER OF LIFE."

WILLIAM HAMILTON BODLEY.

ART. VI.—RECENT EXPLORATIONS OF ANCIENT SITES IN ROME.

1. *Notes from Rome.* By Signor RODOLFO LANCIANI. The *Athenæum*. 1882-4.
2. *Archæology of Rome.* By J. W. PARKER, C.B., &c. Oxford. 1876.
3. *Early and Imperial Rome; or, Promenade Lectures on the Archæology of Rome.* By HODDER R. WESTROPP. London. 1882.

THE effect produced on the barbarian pilgrims of the North-west, visiting Rome in the early Middle Ages, is recorded by the Venerable Bede, and quoted thence in "Childe Harold," embodied in the form of a Sibylline vaticination, connecting the fate of the empire, or, at any rate, of the city, with that of its chief monuments. "While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand; when falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall; and when Rome falls, the world."*

The word "stupendous," in its strictly etymological sense, best expresses the stare of awe and bated breath with which the then newly converted Frisian, Jute, or Angle, brought to the focus of the now shattered empire, so lately become the central shrine of a highly organized and widely ramified religious community, would regard the Colosseum, and behold, in its conversion to the uses of the Church, the grandest trophy of the conquests of the Cross. Gladiatorial combats ceased early in the fifth century; wild-beast combats are known to have survived them by about a century and a half, perhaps by more. But the Gothic, Vandal, and Lombard kingdoms were now not only overshadowing the borders of what had been once the wide domain of heathen Cæsars, but the second of these had crossed the Mediterranean, and revived in Africa a rival more substantial than the commerce of Carthage. In the East there was, even as now, a "Sick Man" at Byzantium. It was no longer possible to levy a tribute of panthers, lions, and elephants on the distant provinces, "to make a Roman holiday." Thus the olden glories of the Colosseum, when the world's heart throbbed in its arena and on its crowded benches, panting with

* The original, as given by Ducange, "Glossar." ii. p. 407, ed. Basil, from "Bedain Excerptis seu Collectaneis," is "Quamdiu stabit Colyseum, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseum, cadet Roma: quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus." It is cited by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," end of ch. lxxi. It was doubtless brought home by visitants, and became widely current, and as such was recorded by Bede.

the anxious horrors of the combat below, and the wild gluttony of the spectacle from above, had faded for ever. It bore its part for a while in the grand religious demonstrations of the sovereign Pontiffs, and torch-lit processions with solemn litanies gleamed and pealed through its venerable arcades. No wonder the sight impressed itself on the astonished eye and ear of the visitant, who chronicled his impressions in a portable form in the above-quoted prophecy. The stately symmetry, grand spatial proportions, and harmonies of light and shade in the vast oval sweep, still substantially intact in its perfection, with the Gordian Colossus,* dwarfed by its immensity, standing perhaps still entire, beneath its shadow, would appeal to emotions which are nowhere so powerful as in the simple mind utterly incapable of analysing them.

Recent discovery has illustrated with singular curiosity and exactness the zealous devotion which carried our rude forefathers in pilgrim shoals to Rome. On the 7th of November, 1883, under the remains of a mediæval house, built within the north-east corner of the Atrium of Vesta, newly rescued from the rubbish of centuries, was found in a piece of crockery a hoard of silver pennies, with a single Byzantine gold-piece among them, all save half a dozen or so being from the mints of English Aelfred, his contemporaries and successors down to the year 950. An inscribed fibula, found in the same hoard (see the P.S. on p. 354), points to the date of the deposit as nearly coincident with that of the latest coin, Martin III. having been Pope in 942-6. The English coins are, beyond doubt, a collection of Peter's pence, a payment set up some sixty years before by the Mercian King Offa, but, so far, only customary in Britain, and not yet general in the West. Spelman, in his "*Origin of Christianity in Britain*," records how on a visit to Rome, after "interviewing" the Pope, that monarch "on the next day entered the English College, which then flourished in Rome, and there from his royal munificence gave in support of the folk of his realm who might come thither, a penny from each family every year for ever."†

The burial of the treasure was evidently by design. It was found put away under the mediæval pavement, no doubt by some then inhabitant, and presumably some official of the Papal Court, who had been paid his salary in those coins. The evidence is thus, further, curious of that Court tenantry in the tenth century, not the Lateran, nor the "*Leonine City*" beyond Tiber, but the Palatine itself, close against the corner of which

* Distinct from the Colossus of Nero, which, as Mr. Parker has shown, was far too vast for the comparatively narrow pedestal near the Colosseum.
† Spelman, "*De Exordio Christ. Relig. in Brit.*," ed. Lond. 1639, p. 311.

hill, the house of the Vestals stood. Long before this discovery an inscription from the Church of St. Anastasia recorded the repair of a staircase leading up to the ancient palace of the Cæsars on the same hill, as executed by a personage known in the Pontifical annals as the father of Pope John VII. (705-8). This shows that some part of it was then habitable and in use. Other indications confirm the notion that the inhabitants were the Pope and his Court, and their tenancy may well have continued into the tenth century. There were, indeed, cogent reasons for its continuance. The Lateran Palace lay close on the south-eastern edge of Rome, and on the side most easily accessible to an enemy from the sea, as was shown a century later by the successful onslaught of the Norman Guiscard; while the Vatican, although within the most recent circumvallation, was wholly without the city proper. The Palatine was the old seat of empire, and the very heart of Rome. No doubt, amidst the alarms of the invasion of the Saracens, who threatened to dispute the Corsair empire of the seas with the Norsemen, as they had the empire of the East with the Byzantine Cæsars, and who were now striving for the supremacy of the West, the Curia would feel more secure on the Palatine than elsewhere in Rome. Thus we find them with their dependants quartered in and near the house of the Vestals, and paying those dependants in English pennies.

The latest important discovery in that subterranean museum, which the spade of research has laid bare in Rome, is this of the house of the Vestals. There is reason to believe that it was unearthed in the fifteenth century, ransacked and looted, and overlaid again with rubbish, the further accumulation of which had buried it "full fathom five" below the surface. The whole area, save a probably unimportant portion, covered by the Church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice, is now laid open to the sky. But that discovery of 1497 was fatal to it. No inventory of course was then taken, since the only object of the discoverers seems to have been destruction. We, therefore, shall never know how much or how little of havoc was perpetrated then. There must have been in the lower story, when entire, forty-eight Corinthian columns of *cipollino* marble, of which a single base alone remains, and in the upper the same number of *breccia corallina*, of which, being useless to the lime-burner, two have escaped entire, and are valued at 2,000 lire each. The lower floor consisted of state apartments, the living-rooms being on the upper floor. Of the former, the splendid *Atrium*, from which the entire building was sometimes denominated the *Atrium Vestæ*, occupied nearly one-third of the area. There was also a muniment-room, in which were often deposited the most confidential and important documents of State, as the wills of Emperors and

other papers of domestic or public interest. For such deposits the Sacred Hearth and the spotless Sisterhood were deemed to offer the most inviolable security of all. Of these, of course, no trace remains. How vastly superior in permanency of material, one cannot help remarking, was the more simple and primitive fashion of Babylonian bricks and cylinders, which neither flood nor fire, nothing, in fact, short of actual pulverization, could wholly destroy. Some important and interesting portrait statues of the Vestales Maximae, or ladies superior, although of course greatly mutilated, have been found, besides the inscribed bases of thirty-three such, twenty-eight, however, only in the house itself, the rest in other sites of the exhumed city.

A series of photographs lately published in Rome give a very clear notion of the site and its surroundings. That site is a depressed area made by scarping the N.E. roots of the Palatine. No. 3,358 of these photographs shows the line of view of its longer axis, about 115 mètres long, looking towards S.E., from where the Via Nova (new in the same sense as our "New Forest") runs at our back.* The modern street level on three sides is some thirty feet above it. On the left the broken shoulder-masses of the minor chambers reach or overtop that level, their rounded juts of wall impending over the area like cliffs over a beach, with deep angular bays amid them. The main structural idea is that of the kind traceable from Homer downwards—a large hall with a recess at the upper end, subordinate chambers on the wings, and a storey added above.† Its architectural style is compared to our double-storied cloisters of the mediæval and Renaissance periods; probably the latter fits best the Corinthian capitals aforesaid. The floor, once splendid with far-fetched marbles, is now the bare earth. On the fourth, or right side of our view, rise shelf above shelf the solemn ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars, with a tuft of wild ilex in their receding crown. The limit of the area forward, near the edge of the Nova Via, shows the recess retiring between the two faces of the limiting wall, with a single window in it twenty feet or so above the area, or possibly a doorway to the street without, since the area was depressed and the wall banked up against the earth. In the distance, just over that recess and its window, the Arch of Titus rises behind, partly screened by a tall nearer scaffolding. Left of the central distance the eye catches

* Signor Lanciani gives the site as bounded by the Sacra Via on the E., Nova Via on the W., Vicas Vestae on the N., and an unknown lane on the S. But the sides do not seem to conform to the cardinal points.

† All readers of Homer will remember the μέγαρον, the μυχός, the θάλαμοι and the ὑπερῶνον. One part of the building only shows the elevation of the last named, but the view shows plainly all the other members.

the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana, with its tall perforated tower of four stages, between which and the arch we glimpse the upper tiers of the Colosseum's broken coronet, its lower ones being lost in the depression behind. No. 3,358a shows the same general aspect from a point more to the left, losing most of the Palatine ruins (right), and including (left) a vast cavern of panelled vaulting, the further bay of the Basilica of Constantine, built really by Maxentius, but named by his victorious successor. In both views the area is fringed (right) with a grove of statuary, stumps of shafts and bases of columns, a few more of which lie about just in front of the distant recess, like captured chessmen on the edge of the board. This statuary, shown obliquely in perspective, forms the chief feature of No. 4,225; in which, also, the close apparent abutment of the Cæsarian ruins on those of the house is shown. In No. 5,093a, however, which traverses obliquely the lines of view of these former, we see that a narrow shelf separates the steep gulf of the area from the masses above, a double row of substructural arches yawning in void gloom. We are looking at what was once the eastern angle of the Palace of Caligula, but all angularity is crumbled and well-nigh effaced from the gaunt skeleton of ruin, throwing forward its lower courses on the steep Palatine slope in these arches on the S.E. face, and on the N.E. face rising in ridge over ridge of vast slabs, as of flag-stones set on edge. In the foreground we take in rear the outworks of the house, which formed the left flank of our previous views. Their dwarf, lumpy screens of brickwork look like half-molten snow masses, with here and there a clean horizontal line or well-squared angle, and show that the house on that left flank extended considerably further than the square recess which limits apparently our former view, having a spacious apartment thrown out beyond its line.* What was our right becomes now the far side of the area, seen somewhat obliquely, and its grove of statuary is glimpsed in the right centre above the brickwork screens aforesaid, and below the Cæsarian promontories of ruin which rise on the shelf above.

The statuary grove aforesaid counts some ten or a dozen statues or fragments of statues of the Vestales Maximæ. That nearest the eye in our first view is No. 3,130 and 3,131a, being side and full face of the same lady, a half figure, arms gone, but face fairly preserved. It is a face with a strong "Quos ego" look about the rather massive jaw and broadly orbéd brow, an expression of "Pro ratione voluntas" in every line of the head, well carried on a columnar neck, wide bust and shoulders; but no weak spot or touch of feminine softness anywhere. Too much

* Perhaps the Tablinum or muniment-room above mentioned.

of a statue by nature for the statuary to find much difficulty, and, therefore, probably a capital likeness; one likely to rule any house she entered, and to make the better half of any pair. Nos. 3,132 and 4,228 are the full and side view of a full-length, well preserved, save the arms and nose—a queenly lady of elegant figure, probably not much over forty years; a good deal of penetrating and subtle persuasiveness beams in her profile, while the full-face has a reserved force of firmness about the mouth. This we take to be the lady named Flavia Publicia, of 247 A.D., whom Signor Lanciani describes as probably the most venerable of her whole order, whose numerous “eulogies and pedestals (seven) have been a plague to the discoverers of the Atrium,” hardly a week passing without some new memento of her turning up. He gives a list of fourteen ladies of whom inscribed pedestals are extant, the remainder being duplicates, triplicates, &c., owing to their popularity. Among these are: Vibidia, who generously interceded for Messalina in her infamy (Tacit. Ann., xi. 32); Cornelia, murdered by Domitian (Pliny, Ep., iv. 11), the same, perhaps, as mentioned by Tacitus (Ann., xv. 22); Cælia Concordia, who closes the list, and was perhaps the actual last of her order. One pedestal, however, is remarkable for an inscription, highly eulogistic, from which the lady’s name has been erased. Its date corresponds with June 9, A.D. 364. Signor Lanciani argues that this “*memoriae damnatio*” is referable only to one of two causes: a breach of her vow, or her conversion to Christianity; that the former cause is unlikely by reason of her probable age, and because the fact would have been mentioned by contemporary Christian writers, and infers, therefore, the latter, the rather as Prudentius (Peristeph. hymn) mentions one such case as having actually occurred.

The toilet of these ladies’ statues will perhaps set the fashion in Rome this season. The long short-waisted stola falling over the feet offers nothing remarkable. Over this, waist-high, is wrapped a mantle falling below the knees, being its extremity carried on the left arm by both statues. A veil falls on the shoulders under a close-fitting cap, the latter modelled seemingly on a series of *infulae* or rolls of wool, four or five of which traverse the forehead. The half-length has lappels long and narrow under either ear, with oval ends drooping forward on the bust.

We have said that the house stood embanked against the earth. The backwalls of the state apartments on the west side show signs of saturation by damp. To bake it out, ventilators and hot vapour furnaces abound. The walls are in places double, and both the floors likewise. Large amphorae, sawn across, support the flag-tiles, which bore the pavement, while terra-cotta pipes

poured hot air between their pieces. To the damp was added the perpetual gloom of the lofty palace impending near, which even now in ruin blocks the sunshine after 9 A.M. Previously to the fourth century A.D. no physician was allowed to enter, but a sickening vestal was instantly removed. From that period a physician was attached to the institution. Enough remains to show at the southern end of the cloisters a large hall laid out in coloured marbles, and walls crusted from still choicer quarries corniced in *rosso antico*. The last rebuilding was by Julia Domna, the Syrian consort of Septimius Severus, a lady of famous horoscope and infamous memory.

Omitting the Pyramids, which can hardly rank as organized structures, and which simply seem to exist and endure, in a match against time, while the world lasts; omitting also the now hardly traceable barbaric splendours of the ancient East, the grandest secular building which the world has seen is the Colosseum. Its more classic name is "the Flavian Amphitheatre," or simply, as proved by an inscription cited by Mr. Parker, "Theatre." In the year 1812, the French, then masters of Rome (an *idée Napoléonique*), removed about ten feet of the accumulations on the surface and exposed the substructures, tops of arches, &c., to that depth. There remained, however, eleven feet more before the actual floor of the *souterrain* was reached in 1874, showing a lower labyrinth of stupendous contrivances, masterly engineering and consummate ingenuity, which more than matches all that met the eye above. All this was in order to enable Rome literally to "bleed" the conquered world for her own amusement. Every stone, up to the ladies' gallery, where the awning met the sky, may be said to stand cemented in blood, human and bestial. If one seeks for a monument of all the baser instincts of man's nature, triumphant for centuries over the nobler, let him stand in the centre of the Colosseum and look around. The grand spectacles, which made and kept the Roman people, Vestal Virgins (who had their reserved seats) and all, from the prince in his purple to the lowest slave in the prætor's retinue, mere voluptuaries of carnage, were here enacted. Massacre was here superbly mounted on the trophies of all the conquerors from Scipio to Theodosius. Whether without Christianity the Empire would ever have shaken off the ghoul-appetite of carnivorous amusement is a question which we need not argue here. The Empire had indeed been nominally Christian for close upon a century, an edict of Constantine for the suppression of gladiators remaining all that while a dead letter, when the devotion of an Eastern monk, named Telemachus, 404 A.D., did a signal service to humanity, with which that of John Brown in the United States, as regards the suppression of slavery, may be distantly compared. Rushing into the

arena between a pair of gladiators, he was stoned to death by the populace, indignant at the interruption of their sports, or, as others say, cut down by the fighting men. But the revulsion of feeling, which soon followed, enabled the Emperor Honorius to give effect to Constantine's edict, and Rome, *nimis longo satiata ludo*, at last acquiesced in the suppression of her favourite spectacle.

Mr. Westropp, to whose descriptive powers we may refer as a model of lucidity says (p. 146 foll.):—

The exterior of the Colosseum had four storeys carrying different orders. The first three are arcades, adorned with engaged columns, the first of the Tuscan order; the second, the Ionic; the third, the Corinthian. The fourth storey presents a wall pierced with rectangular windows, and adorned with pilasters of the composite order. From the evidence of coins, the spaces which alternate with the rectangular windows exhibited circles, which were probably the *clypea*, doubtless bronze shields,* up to which it has been stated that Domitian carried the building. From the use of the composite order in the highest storey,† we can doubtless see the reason why it was adopted by the Romans, for the prominence of its Ionic volutes makes it appear more distinctly at a great height or at a great distance. Each storey had eighty columns and as many arcades. The highest stage had eighty pilasters and forty small windows. In the centre of the arches of the second and third arcades statues were placed. Seventy-six of the arches of the lower storey served as entrances for the spectators, and bore each a different number over the arches. The other four not numbered, and situated at the extremities of the axis of the ellipse, formed the principal entrances. The two at the extremities of the minor axis were reserved, one for the emperor, the other for the *editor*, and those who occupied the box opposite the emperor. The other entrances at the extremities of the major axis led to the arena. In the lowest storey there are four *ambulacra*, or corridors, parallel to the ellipse of the arena. The first *ambulacrum* was the lower arcade of eighty arches; the second *ambulacrum* was separated from the first only by pillars, which corresponded with those of the façade—it gave entrance to the stairs (*scalae*) and passages (*viae itinera*). The third led to the first *maenianum*, while the fourth gave immediate entrance to the podium. The arcades of the upper storeys lighted the corridors, which encircled the building, as well as the stairs. The whole is crowned with a bold entablature, which is pierced with a series of holes, beneath which are brackets, which supported the feet of the masts upon which the *velarium*, or awning, was extended, and above the entablature was an attic. The length and breadth of the exterior of the Colosseum is 650 feet by 513 feet. The height of that part

* This may be questioned. They were probably medallions *in the form* of shields—a common architectural device in Rome. Mr. Parker erroneously renders *clypea* the “top-cornice.”

† This was not part of the original design, in which the top storey was of wood, and was burnt in the time of Macrinus, 218 A.D.

of the building which remains entire is 157 feet. The storeys are respectively about 30, 38, 38 and 44 feet high. . . . The cavea, or the part destined for the spectators, was divided into three parts: the podium,* the *maeniana*, and the porticoes. The podium was a platform raised above the arena, which it encircled, and was sufficiently high to place the spectators out of reach of the wild beasts.† It included the places destined for the emperor, the senators and for persons of distinction. . . . Above the podium were the *gradus*, or seats, for the other spectators, which were divided into *maeniana*, or stones.‡ The first *maenianum* was appropriated to the equestrian order. Then, after a horizontal space, termed *praecinctio*, and forming a continued landing-place from the several staircases which opened on to it, succeeded the second *maenianum*, where were the seats called *popularia*, for the third class of spectators, or the populace. The openings from the staircases and corridors on to their landing-places or *praecinctiones* were designated by the appropriate term *vomitoria*. Behind the second *maenianum* was the second *praecinctio*, above which was the third *maenianum*, where there were only wooden benches for the *pullati*,§ or common people. . . . According to Publius Victor, 87,000 persons could be accommodated in the seats, and some consider that 20,000 more could have found places above. According, however, to a calculation which Mr. Fergusson has made, allowing four square feet for each spectator, the amphitheatre might contain 50,000 spectators at one time. We now come to a more detailed description of the arena. It was of an elliptical form, the major axis being 287 feet, the minor 180 feet.

It is probable that the above description, coupled with half an hour's inspection of Mr. Parker's admirable photo-engravings in his volume on the Colosseum, will give a better notion of the building than most tourists have derived from a fatiguing series of personal visits of exploration. The thoroughly faithful work of Mr. Parker on this building was continued, and its results confirmed, in visits to similar structures in Italy. He says ("Colosseum," Pref. p. viii.):—

I have been to Capua, Pozzuoli, Pompeii, and Verona, and found, as I expected, many confirmations of what had been stated in Rome. I took with me Professor Cicconetti, one of the best architectural artists in Rome, to Capua and Pozzuoli, and have added some photo-engravings from his drawings.

* The podium was at the level of the street without.

† This does not seem to have been regarded as an absolute protection. Mr. Parker figures (in his "Archæology of Rome:" Colosseum) an ornamental iron work or *grille*, which fenced them off, and states that the top bar of it revolved (being probably of wood), so that any beast springing upon it would be unable to hold on, and would fall back into the arena.

‡ "Galleries" would rather represent the precise force of the word.

§ Literally, "those in dark clothes" (not to show the dirt), as being unable to afford more easily soiled and, therefore, more costly apparel.

What we take to be the photo-engravings from these drawings have the one defect in Mr. Parker's unassisted works of the same kind supplied—viz., a scale of feet and yards to indicate size. This, in the otherwise careful and probably exact ground-plans, sections, &c. (Plates viii., xiii., and others), is wholly wanting, and so throughout his volumes on Forum, Aqueducts, &c.

The Colosseum was a theatre where there was no "behind the scenes." All that was not "house" was stage. Thus all the machinery which produced illusions was below the surface. Hence the vast depths and extent of crypt and vault, with their intricate recesses, passages, capstans, lifts, dens, and ladders; this, too, was why Apollodorus, the professional critic of Hadrian, the imperial amateur, suggested that the vaults under "Venus and Roma," if the basement had been higher, might have been useful as an adjunct for the stage properties of the Colosseum, the site being almost within stone's-throw.

The necessity of being seen equally all round, imposed on the construction of scenic decorations arduous conditions, which, combined with the necessity of elevating the whole from below, and working therefore with defective light, could only be met by a wonderful economy of organization beneath the surface.

The substructures as now found represent a restoration of 423-425 A.D., "a period of decline," as Mr. Westropp remarks—that is, both in the fine arts and in the arts and resources of empire generally; but not probably in engineering and mechanical contrivance. There is, however, an important difference in the objects aimed at by the earlier as compared with the later substructures. In the former period contrivances for the *naumachiae* or naval fights were included. The whole interest of these must have turned on the actual combatants, who were, of course, gladiators, since in so narrow a space as an oval of 96 yards by 60, even if the whole surface were flooded and navigable, which it is difficult to conceive, there would be hardly any margin for evolutions. But the abolition of gladiatorial displays, twenty years earlier, must have robbed these combats of their interest in Roman eyes. It follows that the restoration referred to, although it might leave standing a good deal of such "plant" as had served for the *naumachia*, would probably break up and confound the lines of it by other arrangements of a less amphibious character. This is a conclusive reason against the possibility of studying the *Naumachia* on the lines which exist now; an error into which Mr. Parker, it seems to us, has fallen. He gives consummate photo-engravings of the underground interior, in which troughs of square section, following the elliptic curve of the building (canals, as he supposes, and perhaps correctly), each ten feet deep and wide, are crossed by a deep rectilinear channel running the entire length of the building, and extending beyond it in the major axis

of the ellipse. The walls of this channel are so high as to approach the level of the arena itself when boarded over for non-naval exhibitions, and therefore to bisect the water surface into two pairs of equal semi-elliptic rings, one within the other, on either side of the central channel. That this channel itself was sometimes, at least, partly flooded appears from a communication with a drain, with sluice-gate sliding in a groove, and a grating fixed over the outlet at one end of it or both. The notion of barges punting up and down two curved lanes of water where they could not even turn round, as representing a naval combat, is of course absurd. That an effective representation was, in fact, given rests on sufficient evidence; and that the surface was suddenly changed from water to *terra firma* for gladiatorial, &c., combats; but *how* the translation from wet to dry was effected turns on details which no study of the existing remains can elucidate. This difficulty Mr. Parker does not seem even to have seen, and the details which he seeks to explain and harmonize only complicate it more severely. In the great groove referred to was found an article which looks like the double ladder of a modern fire-escape laid horizontally, but which he takes to be a ship cradle, and detects in certain small marble stools at intervals along each side of the channel the necessary supports to keep a ship's hull, when laid upon it, from heeling over. But if the ships were lodged there, they would in effect be dry-docked in a long cellar open at top and ends, twenty feet below the surface of the earth, the walls of which exactly intercept the galley from the water-surface intended for it. Mr. Westropp sees in the supposed cradle one of the "pegmata for raising the spectacular arrangements to the level of the arena." This is probably the correct view. He adds that

two vaults have been discovered, one on each side of the *cryptoporticus* which leads to the Lateran,* which were evidently docks for keeping the galleys—two in each—which were used for fighting in the *naumachia*. There are side-doors with steps to each dock for the soldiers to enter the galleys. There must be two similar vaults or docks at the other side of the arena,† and consequently eight war-galleys could be introduced.

Mr. Parker thinks that the earlier erection by M. Scaurus, the

* The line is that of the major axis of the ellipse prolonged towards its S.E. extremity.

† This seems an assumption merely, and does not agree with the underground plan given by Mr. Parker, Colosseum, plate viii., where the position of the substructures is apparently at the opposite or N.W. end of the major axis; and they do not suit the notion of a dry dock for galleys in shape and arrangement, which appears intended by the "other side of the arena" in the citation above.

edile, step-son of Sulla, was on the area of the Colosseum, and that the substructures were originally his, but this is conjecture only, although not improbable. Pliny tells us (N. H., xxxvi. 27, 7), how Scaurus reared it in three storeys, having in all 360 columns. The lower storey was of (*i.e.*, faced with) marble, the second with glass—an extravagance, says Pliny, unheard of before or since—and the upper works of gilded woodwork. What is certain, however, as regards the site of the Colosseum is, that it covered the earlier Stagnum Neronis, in which Nero exhibited *naumachiae*, availing himself, Mr. Parker thinks, of the work of Scaurus above mentioned. Thus, Mr. Parker regards the entire building as the work of several hands, the Flavian Cæsars only completing and giving their names to what their predecessors had begun; and thus he regards the Gymnasium as well as Naumachia, built by Nero in connection with his Golden House, as both included in the Colosseum—a negative inference from the fact that, in or near the ample area of that Neronian folly, no site to match any gymnasium has been found. This seems a doubtful conclusion; but that a large part of the shell of the existing building is of “the fine brickwork of Nero,” for which Mr. Parker had an enthusiastic eye, may be taken as proved. He adds that “the great stone arcades, containing corridors of the Flavian emperors, are built round the older galleries, which are chiefly faced with brick,” and his photo-engravings closely illustrate the fact; also that the stone arcades are simply “built up against” these earlier masses of brickwork “without any bond of masonry” to unite them. In the same way he notices that the vast piers of travertine, which run from top to bottom, and carried the weight of the topmost storey, when rebuilt of stone after the older wooden gallery was burnt, were a structural necessity, the architects deeming that weight too great for the softer tufa. These, being therefore an afterthought to the original plans, were similarly without any bond of masonry—mere adjuncts without incorporation. He thinks that the massive “consoles”—corbel-like projections from the vertical wall which ran round the sunken area—were to receive the planks of the flooring, cleared away and piled upon them, when the land-show gave way to the *naumachia*. It seems doubtful whether they would suffice for such immense stacks of boarding, but perhaps the edge of the podium may have been capable of a similar use. In the sunken area, twenty-one feet below the level of the arena which these planks formed, a row of dens ran round for wild beasts, all opening towards the great central pit, which was probably the original Stagnum Neronis. In front of the dens ran a shallow channel of water, for the animals to lap; and, by placing a cage close before each den, the animal was turned out into the former,

which was then run on wheels or rollers, we must suppose, till vertically under one of the traps, through which lifts were conducted. At a signal, by means of a capstan (the bronze shod sockets of which engines are copiously marked in the pavement), the lift was hoisted and the trap and lid of the cage raised, through which the creature sprang out upon the arena as if from underground.* In this way, says Herodian, a hundred lions at once were projected on the stage. From the central channel before mentioned, running like that of a spinal column from end to end and further, huge elements of picturesque spectacle were evolved when the diversion changed to one of a mytho-scenic character. Thus we hear of Mount Ida with forests and fountains, ambitious goddesses and judicial shepherd, all rising from below, like Milton's Pandæmonium, to represent realistically the popular legend of the *spretæ iniuria formæ* which led up to the Trojan War.

The more noticeable features of the whole upper structure were of travertine, with brick or tufa interior parts; the podium was cased with marble, with seats of the same. Some of the exterior blocks of travertine are eight or ten feet by five, and are numbered to indicate their position. Owing to the immense popularity of its sports, the wear and tear of the building was enormous. It was not completed till Domitian's time, about 85 A.D., and needed thorough restoration under Antonius Pius, 140-160 A.D. Under Alexander Severus, 230 A.D., it was again completely restored, and about 425 A.D. again extensively repaired. The Romans inoculated the subject nations with similar wild-beast passions to their own, and made their Colosseum the cockpit of the world. Thus minor variations of the great

* Minor arrangements of a subsidiary character are man-holes, through which attendants might descend and feed the animals in safety; lamp-sockets against the wall of the recess which formed the den—the only hint at the method of lighting, which must have been a serious matter when the traps were all shut in the floor above—also smaller traps to let up men and dogs are all minutely and perspicuously figured by Mr. Parker; also the subterranean entrance in the line of the great central channel for the animals, and at the lowest level of all, in the same line, the great drain with its grating to catch any objects swept away in the rush of the escaping water. The whole forms a marvellous study of zoological barbarity. The human combatants were, at least in the later period, after the substructures were complete, introduced on the arena from above, being quartered in certain cells under the edge of the podium, along which would also be stationed military guards, slaves, messengers, signal-men, &c. It is supposed by Mr. Westropp that the paved bottom of the cavity was the original arena, when emptied of its naumachion water, but that the combats were too imperfectly seen at that depressed level, which defect was subsequently remedied by the artificial superimposed arena near the level of the podium.

amphitheatre are repeated at Nîmes, Arles, and elsewhere.* The gladiatorial combats ended, as we have seen, in 404 A.D., and the last recorded wild-beast show in the Colosseum was in 523 A.D.; but the Spanish bull-fights, with their arena and arrangement of spectators, are a direct descendant, and our own once popular bear or bull baitings are mere sprinklings of the same torrent of savagery which ran so fiercely for centuries in imperial Rome.



The calm audacity with which he repeats himself, sometimes for pages together, is the distinctive feature of Mr. Westropp's book on "Early and Imperial Rome." Thus, a statement on the methods of Roman masons, with a remark of Dionysius, is found on page 48 and again on page 64. The question of the direction of the Via Sacra is discussed on pages 90-92, and in identical terms on pages 129-130, and the enumeration of the buildings on its line is even three times given—pages 90, 129, 130. The scholarship, moreover, is loose. Thus we find on page 96 that Fabius commemorated "his victories over the Allobrogi" (*sic*). The name "Mamertinus" applied to the prison is discussed (page 93) as if classical, and we are told "may have been derived from its being built by Ancus Martius. Mamers was the Sabine name of the god Mars, and consequently from the name Mamertius, the Sabine way of spelling Martius, may have been derived Mamertinus." When we reflect that the name does not occur till the mediæval period, and that Varro and Sallust speak of the prison as the "Tullianum," it will appear that the above philological speculation is sufficiently superfluous. On page 213 an inscription is so rendered as to give us *three* Consuls in one year by carelessly inserting "and" between Flavius and Gratianus, which denote together one person. On page 240 we read a statement of Pliny, that "the Ægyptians have discovered in Æthiopia the stone known as 'Basanites,' which in colour and hardness resembles iron, whence the name has been given to it (*βάσανος*)." One would suppose from this that *βάσανος* was the Greek term for iron. The loose geography common at all periods among Roman writers led Pliny to talk of "Æthiopians" and "Ægyptians" when a region of Palestine was what he should have named. It is none other than the well-known "Bashan," and the "iron bedstead" of King Og is probably a sarcophagus made of it.† But the writer here puts down Pliny's gossip without mistrust.

* Clerisseau, "Antiquités de la France" (referred to by Mr. Burn, "Rome and the Campagna," p. 62), enumerates sixty-two amphitheatres as still existing in ruin, all apparently younger provincial brothers of the Colosseum.

† Captain Conder thinks that "Og's bedstead," or, as he prefers to call it, "throne," is recognizable in a huge solitary dolmen standing on a bare rock close to Rabbath Ammon. The top stone measures nearly 13 feet in length, which may be taken as equivalent to nine cubits.

We have no space now to touch upon the various topographical controversies raised by Mr. Parker and others regarding the Temple of Rome and Venus, the Temple of the Sun and Moon, the later position occupied by the Colossus of Nero, the site of the Porticus Liviae, &c. The discovery of the Capitoline Plan of Rome, incised on marble in the fourth century, and found broken to pieces, probably by earthquake action, would be of first-rate importance but that so few of its fragments have been recovered. Probably, however, more evidence may turn up in other forms, if ingenious theorists will only have the patience to wait for it.

H. HAYMAN.

P.S.—Since the above was written, we are enabled to describe more exactly the fibula referred to on p. 341, said to be of a form previously unknown to archæology. Its device is a central trefoil with the legend  DOMNO MARINO PAPA  in the margin, its form a pair of oval plates, its material copper inlaid with silver. There are peculiar attachments of the hook and eye character, which would allow it to clasp a mantle and present its device to the eye in the usual way. Such a lettered fibula is declared by Signor de Rossi, who has catalogued the coins, to be absolutely unique. Of early English coins the Vatican Museum contains only eleven, and these presumably, but not certainly, found in Rome. This extreme rarity of the actual material of payment, whereas the fact of the payment itself went on for some centuries, has led to the supposition that the practice of the Papal Court was to melt the English coins down and convert them into Roman currency. We cannot help thinking that if the site of the "Schola Anglorum quae tunc [temp. Offae Reg.] Romae floruit" were carefully explored by the spade, some examples of English coins would be recovered. Their types, as at present known, exhibit vast diversity, and few duplicates in many instances are known. There are about 400 different types among the 830 now discovered. One fruitful cause of this diversity was of course the multiplicity of mints. Such different sites as Bath, Canterbury, Dorchester, Leicester, Maldon, Stafford, Winchester and York, with about as many more, furnished the coins of the Vestals' treasure. The moulds also were probably weak, often broken and constantly renewed with a different stamp, diversity of design being probably aimed at, as a point of the self-assertion of art. The only other such sudden find of early English coins known to have taken place is in Norway—the "Dane-geld"—operating there similarly to the "Peter's pence" in Rome. But Rome, as above suggested, mostly recoined the treasure, and regarded English pennies as so much bullion only. This makes the present exception the more remarkable and valuable.

ART. VII.—THE DESTINY OF KHARTOUM.

1. *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea, and Equator.* Intelligence Department, War Office. London : Messrs. W. Clowes & Sons. 1884.
2. *Der Sudan.* Von JOHANN DICTL. Graz. 1885.
3. *Exploration du Sahara.* Par HENRI DUVEYRIER. Paris. 1864.
4. *With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan.* By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. J. COLBORNE. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1884.
5. *The Dervishes.* By J. P. BROWN. London : Trübner & Co. 1868.

AN ancient and familiar fable tells how in the early days of Rome a portentous omen of calamity to the State was averted by the self-immolation of its noblest citizen. England has tried a like experiment with a less happy result. She too has flung her best and bravest into the gulf of doom, but only to see the abyss yawn more widely for fresh prey instead of closing over a single grave.

Nor is the catastrophe of merely national significance, for the British hero was the bulwark of Christendom, and all Islam exults in his overthrow as its first signal triumph over the Cross for many generations. Standing singly at bay against aggressive Mohammedanism, fronting an infidel continent in arms in tragic sublimity of isolation, the man was worthy of the cause, since surely no figure in all history shows relieved in atmosphere so luminous of steadfastness and faith, against so black a background of disaster. For behind it rolls up, as though temporarily stayed by its presence, and waiting for its downfall as the signal to advance, one of those storm-clouds of humanity, charged with the lurid electricity of fanaticism, which barbarism sometimes nurses below her dim horizons, to launch them, ripe for havoc, on the unsuspecting serenity of civilization.

Twice before has Africa seen such a tempest gather among her illimitable wastes—and twice a dynasty has foundered in its track. The future must tell what mark the third and latest of these movements will leave on history.

The desert—the most awe-inspiring fact in Nature—has ever been the cradle of monotheistic faith. In the desert Abraham received the primitive revelation ; in the desert the creed of his descendants was affirmed by the dread sanction of Sinai ; and in the desert the morning star of Christianity announced to a perverse and incredulous people the coming regeneration of mankind. But Mohammedanism, which mimics the Hebrew tradi-

tion like its distorted shadow, still draws its vital strength from the wastes that brought it forth, and the sands of the torrid zone, like the core of a volcano, ever contain a reserve of latent fury, capable of firing its votaries to a white-heat of eruptive fanaticism.

Thus it was the highlands of Barbary that sent forth 300,000 warriors to rally round the Mahdi of the tenth century, and raise the *soi-disant* seventh Imam to the African Caliphate; it was the nomads of the Sahara who, a century and a half later, flamed into fury under the preaching of El-Morabit, swept in a human hurricane across the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after overthrowing Spanish Christianity at the battle of Talavera, founded an empire extending from the Guadalquivir to Timbuctoo.

Precisely similar inflammable material has been fired by the present revolt of the Soudan, for the Arabs of to-day are on the same level of civilization with these earlier reformers, and furnish a like compound of faith and ferocity. But in the changed circumstances of the modern world they are no longer formidable save with the desert as their ally, and beyond its friendly shelter would be impotent against the organized forces of society. The danger of the new revolt of Islam would rather be in the contagious influence of its example in creating fresh centres of disturbance elsewhere.

The belief in a Mahdi or heaven-sent regenerator of the earth is founded on an instinctive craving of humanity. The ejaculation "*Aymata ydhar el Mahdi?*" (When will the Mahdi appear?) common in Mohammedan countries as an aspiration for relief in woe and suffering, represents the pathetic side of the idea, which, however, like that of the Messiah among the carnal-minded Jews, is more generally associated with the dream of temporal dominion and aggrandizement. From several of the traditions recording Mohammed's predictions on the subject, we take one, on the authority of Ibn Abbas.

"There will be twelve Khalifs after me," the Prophet is reported to have said; "the first is my brother, the last is my son." "O Messenger of God," said the people, "who is thy brother?" He replied, "Ali" (his cousin-german). "And thy son?" "Mahdi, who will fill the earth with justice, even if it be covered with tyranny. He will come at last; Christ will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imam will extend from west to east."

The twelve Khalifs in this prediction are the twelve Imams, or high-priests, of the Shia'ah sect, the last of whom, Abu'l Kasim, spirited away into a cavern near Semara in the 266th year of the Hejra, and still hidden there, is expected to reappear as the Imam Mahdi (The Guided) in the latter days of the earth.

The fourteenth Mohammedan century was by common expectation looked to as the era of the Mahdi, and three pretenders to the title announced themselves at its opening. Sheikh Senoussi of Tripoli is one of these; another obscure claimant in the Soudan was put to death by his more famous rival; while the latter, Mohammed Ahmed of Dongola, has for the moment distanced all competition by his success in arms. His prestige was much enhanced by the fact that his victory over Hicks Pasha, which first blazoned his name to the world, actually took place on the opening day of the fated century; November 2, 1883, being in the Mohammedan calendar Moharrem 1, 1301, Hejra.

With this dramatic event the revolt in the Soudan entered on its second phase, becoming, from a mere local insurrection, a danger threatening the entire of North Africa. The extent of this danger must be measured by its power of propagating itself from secondary eruptive centres, since the primary Arab wave from Nubia and Kordofan will have spent its initial force ere reaching the sea. The Orders of Dervishes, widely diffused through all Mohammedan countries, seem to provide the requisite machinery for its further propulsion.

The tenets embodied in Sufism, the mystical school of Mohammedanism whence sprang the religious Orders, are extraneous to its original teaching. The dualism in Arab thought dividing it, under Greek and Persian influence respectively, into *Mechaïouns*, (walkers) and *Echrahaïouns* (contemplators), had indeed existed long before the time of Mohammed, and survived the apparent fusion of his reform. He so far violated a universal instinct of humanity that he instituted a religion without a sacrifice, of which pilgrimage to some extent supplies the place. Yet the cardinal precept of Islam, implied in the word itself, enjoining absolute submission to the Divine Will, is held to be typified in a supreme sacrifice—that of his own son by Abraham, while Hosein, the martyred son of Ali, is mystically identified with the ram slain as a substitute. The frenzied lamentations with which the death of Hosein is annually solemnized and re-enacted, as well as the use of sacrifices, customary, though not enjoined, on many occasions, are outlets for an order of ideas not represented in the original teaching of the Koran.

From the farther East, the cradle of Buddhist and Brahminical reverie, came too the ascetic ideal, the correlative of sacrifice, grafted, like it, from a foreign stock on the Arabian creed. It early found votaries among its disciples, and twelve of the principal Orders of Dervishes date from a period antecedent to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

Of similar Orders, called *Tarikât* (paths; the word *Dervish*

itself, meaning a door-sill, being of Persian origin), there are thirty-six principal fraternities, with many minor branches. Constantinople contains over 200 tekkiehs, or convents, where the dervishes live in community, but the larger number of members, those affiliated in the lowest degree, are only bound to certain observances in their own homes. On the murids, or novices, desiring to follow the rule in the tekkiehs, a severe probation is imposed, lasting in some Orders for 1,001 days of menial service. The rite of initiation recalls that of Freemasonry in the exchange of a peculiar hand-grip with the Sheikh, in which the opposing thumbs meet in an upright position, as well as in the guardianship of the door by two armed brothers. A glass of water, too, as in some European secret societies, plays a part in the proceedings. The aspirant then receives the insignia of the Order, the tesbih, a bead, for the recitation of the ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity; the taybend, a woollen belt, containing the palenk, or cabalistic stone of contentment; the mengusay, earrings shaped like the horse-shoe of Ali; and the taj, or high, semi-conical cap, divided into sections, differing in number for each Order, and called terks, because each signifies the abandonment of an evil inclination. The lowest grade is called sheriat (observance of the law); the three higher, tarikat (paths or rites), marifat (knowledge), and hakikat (truth). The production of the state of trance, frenzy, or convulsion seems to be the aim of all the Dervish Orders, their habitual exercises, such as repeated outcries or gyrations, being means to this end, while hashish or opium, and mesmerism, are also used. Travellers in the East are familiar with the zikr, mention or invocation of the Deity, "La ilaha illa Allah" (No Deity save Allah), whose muttered cadence is heard from house-roofs and terraces through the summer night, now hushed like a sigh, now swelling to an angry roar.

Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, is a Dervish of the Kadireeyeh Order, so called from its founder, Abd ul Kadir el Ghilami, whose tomb at Bagdad is a venerated shrine. A rose embroidered on felt of camel's hair is worn in their caps as a distinguishing sign by this confraternity. The number of letters in Bismillah er Rahman er Rahim (In the name of God, the Clement and the Merciful), is indicated by the eighteen points of this mystical decoration, and they give also the numerical value of the word Hy, the Living, h standing for 8 and y for 10. The four stages of initiation are symbolized by its four colours, yellow, white, red, and black, and the crossed triangles forming the mohur, or Solomon's seal, occupy its centre. White banners and turbans distinguish the Kadireeyeh in Egypt, and, as it numbers there many fishermen, they carry in their processions different coloured nets as standards.

The present insurrection has been mainly fomented by the dervishes, and it was to their assistance Mohammed Ahmed appealed in the letter of May, 1881, in which he first proclaimed his pretensions. The body-guard of fighting fanatics who then gathered round him defended his person from arrest by the Egyptian authorities, and formed the nucleus of the revolt. Ever foremost in the fray, the dervishes have since led the Arab charge with a valour that extorts the admiration of their foes; and Colonel Colborne thus describes their losses at the battle of Marabia, in Sennaar, fought by Hicks Pasha's force on April 29, 1883:—

Nearly all the chiefs killed were dervishes. Colonel Farquhar states, in a letter to the *Egyptian Gazette*, that the rebels were greatly disheartened, not so much on account of the numbers slain, as at the loss of their seven principal chiefs, and nearly all the dervishes. "I counted," he says, "forty of the latter within a very short distance of the principal face of the square, and many more were doubtless killed."

While these Orders of the religion of hatred supply the machinery of a universal propaganda for its doctrines, there is another association in North Africa even more directly aggressive in its character, and furnishing a train of explosive material ready laid from the Senegal to the Nile. The Senoussite sect is a secret society directly aimed against the intrusion of European ideas, unscrupulous in the means employed to that end, and having as its watchword that Turks and Christians, being on a level, must be destroyed by the same blow. It owes its origin to the resentment produced by the French conquest of Algeria in the mind of an Arab of the Beni Senous tribe, from the neighbourhood of Tlemsen. Sheikh Senoussi brought to his task of reform all the zeal and learning acquired by a long residence in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo, where he had passed his early life in intimate association with the most enthusiastic champions of Islam. The Libyan Desert, isolated behind the sands from all contagion of civilization, was selected by him as the cradle of his movement, and the Djebel el Akhdar, about twenty kilomètres east of Ben Ghazi, was the centre whence it radiated over the entire Sahara. Associates were enrolled, and zaouiya, or monasteries, were founded in the principal oases, those of Sokna, Zouila, Ghat, and Ghadames forming a quadrilateral of fanaticism. In fifteen years eight branches had been founded from funds voluntarily supplied by the associates. The head-quarters of the sect had meanwhile been transferred to Djerabub, where a single well of bitter water formed a halting-place in the desert not far from the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. A settlement was created here as if by magic;

fresh wells were dug, date-trees planted, and the desert was made to "blossom as the rose." Here the founder of the sect, dying in 1859, was succeeded by his son, Sidi Mohammed ben Ali es Senoussi, the present Sheikh. From the oasis, which he has never left, and where he leads a patriarchal life, surrounded by a large family, he moves the secret springs of his vast organization. Under him it assumed a more distinctly militant attitude, and fomented the rising of 1861 in the Algerian Sahara, terminated by the capture of Mohammed ben Abdallah, one of the principal lieutenants of the Sheikh.

M. Henri Duveyrier, in a paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for the second quarter of 1884, gives a formidable picture of the growing power of the Senoussite brotherhood. Omnipotent in Tripoli, influential in Yemen and the Hedjaz, favoured indirectly by the Sultan of Morocco and actively by him of Wadai, it threatens to be one of the most potent factors in the future of North Africa. Its zaouiya are scattered through Cyrenaica, Fezzan, the Libyan and Theban deserts, and the Algerian Sahara, to near the walls of Oran and Orleansville. It has branches in the Somali country on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and adherents in the French settlements on the Atlantic. Throughout the Western Soudan, the new reformer's name is more revered than that of Mohammed himself; El hak Sidi Senoussi (The truth of Lord Senoussi) is the most solemn oath by which men swear, and in the Oasis of Kufra pilgrims from the Senegal were met by Herr Rohlf's, the German traveller, whose goal was not Mecca, but Djerabub.

The number of the Khouan or Senoussite brothers is estimated by M. Duveyrier at a minimum of a million and a half, while he thinks that figure might probably be doubled. "Each of them," he says, "is not only *ipso facto* a missionary, but is ready at the signal of his superior to transform himself into a propagandist agent, a soldier, a bravo, or even a cowardly poisoner." To the agency of the sect he ascribes the massacre of the Flatters Mission in 1881, of Mdle. Tinné's party in 1869, and of many other Europeans; as well as the intrigues against the French in Tunis, and a series of risings in Algeria in 1861, 1873, and 1879-1882.

It is obvious that the declared aims of this formidable organization are sufficiently in harmony with those of the Mahdist rising in Equatorial Egypt to render a coalition feasible. The pretensions of the leaders are indeed antagonistic, since Senoussi, too, claims the *role* of the expected Prophet, and bears the title Sidi-el-Mahdi-ben-Senoussi. The success of his rival's arms may, however, be accepted by him as the patent of his mission, and his personal ambition be merged in the larger dream of the triumph

of his cause. Indeed, if the account of recent Arabic newspapers can be trusted, the decision will not rest even with Senoussi himself. The enthusiasm evoked among his followers by the victories of the Soudan Prophet is said to be almost uncontrollable, and he may have to choose between losing their allegiance and heading their revolt.

His position in the Libyan Oasis would enable him to co-operate in a Mahdist advance on Upper Egypt by striking at any point of the Nile between the Delta and the cataracts. Masked by the desert, his operations could be conducted with absolute secrecy until he was ready to confront the British authorities with the portentous apparition of a second Mahdi on the flank of Egypt to the north.

These sporadic upheavals of Mohammedan intolerance throughout the world have their fulcrum in the Pan-Islamite party in the Ottoman Empire; and the Sultan, whose pretensions to the Khalifate are openly impugned, is, in reference to this section of his subjects, in a dilemma resembling that of the Tripolitan Sheikh. The possible reaction of similar tendencies in India is one of the many grave elements of the present crisis; but it is probable that Mohammedan feeling there could only be raised to the explosive point if worked on conjointly with other causes of discontent. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Wahhabi revival wrought from 1820 to 1831 such a fermentation in the North-Western Provinces that its leader, Sayyid Ahmed, preached the jihad against the Sikhs, with the result of seating himself temporarily on the throne of Peshawur, and that the embers of the conflagration then kindled still smoulder among the natives of Oude and Northern Bengal.

In contrast with the aggressive machinery wielded by modern Mohammedanism is the organization of the counter-crusade of Christianity in Central Africa. The history of the Catholic Mission is told by Father Dichtl in the valuable work at the head of this article, which also contains the most complete social and historical sketch of the Soudan available in a compendious form. Christianity, early planted in these regions, perished in the fourteenth century before the scathing sword of Islam, and the fragments of its churches built into the mosques of Khartoum and Sennaar are the only vestiges remaining to attest its former presence. Its reintroduction was due to the zeal of the Polish Jesuit, Padre Ryllo, and the Mission of Central Africa was created an Apostolic Vicariate under his direction, by a decree of Gregory XVI., April 3, 1846. Khartoum became its headquarters, and there it was installed in February, 1848, on a piece of ground fronting the Blue Nile. Its founder succumbing within a few months of his arrival to the effects of climate and

fatigue, its guidance passed into the hands of his energetic successor, Dr. Knoblecher, all whose efforts were required to preserve it from collapse during the first year of its existence. The sale of the produce of its garden furnished, indeed, its sole means of subsistence during the ensuing winter, when the disturbed state of Europe, cutting off all extraneous help, threw it entirely on its own resources for support. This state of abandonment was not, however, of long duration, as its enterprising chief in a visit to his native country succeeded in enlisting powerful patronage on its behalf. An association, styled the Marien-Verein, was formed in Vienna for its support, and Imperial protection was extended to it. The Emperor Francis Joseph not only obtained a firman in its favour from the Sultan, but created a consulate at Khartoum to take charge of its interests, and sent thither one of his Court gardeners to superintend the laying out of its grounds. A further extension was given to its sphere of operations, and the purchase of a large iron sailing vessel, or dahabieh, enabled Dr. Knoblecher to found stations on the White Nile—at Gondokoro in the Equatorial marshes, and at Ste.-Croix farther down the river.

In Khartoum itself a garden occupying over thirteen acres of ground was planted with some 1,200 fruit trees, indigenous bananas and date-palms intermingling with the foreign foliage of lemons, oranges, and pomegranates. The enclosure was surrounded with a wall ten feet high and two and a half feet thick, and within it a church, dwelling-house, and school-rooms were built of massive stone. The civilizing influence here exerted may be judged from the fact that the missionaries were the first to introduce the arts of baking bricks and preparing lime, and that the natives trained as workmen subsequently supplied skilled labour for the arsenal, while one of them rose to fill the place of Government engineer in Kordofan. These Mission premises figured conspicuously in the history of the siege, having been hired by Gordon as a supplementary storehouse and magazine, rendered defensible by the thickness of the walls, while the terraced roof covering the group of buildings furnished a commanding platform either for artillery fire or for look-out.

Father Dichtl tells an interesting anecdote of the zeal of the first little converts, waifs and strays of parti-coloured humanity, some of them ransomed slave-children, others half-castes of semi-European origin. Dr. Knoblecher, going into their dormitory to see if all was quiet for the night on the eve of their baptism, All Saints' Day, 1848, found them up and awake in various attitudes of devotion, and was told that they were asking Our Lady's intercession that they might live till the morrow in order to become Christians. The secular education of the little neophytes

was not neglected, as Arabic, Italian, arithmetic, singing, and drawing were taught in the schools.

The Missions on the White Nile had to encounter the hostility and intrigues of the slave traders, who decimated and demoralized the river tribes. Not for this reason, however, but from the deadly nature of the climate, these stations had eventually to be abandoned, as priests only went up to die on the fever-stricken shore. Khartoum itself was scarcely less fatal, and in the decade 1848-58, twenty-two priests out of a total of thirty-three fell victims to their vocation.

Hence the Mission was in 1861 confided to the Franciscan Order, but with no better result, and in two years the deaths rose to twenty-two out of fifty-one. This continuous drain of life necessitated the abandonment of all outlying stations, and that of Khartoum was held during nine years by a single priest assisted by a few lay-brothers.

But the Soudan found a fresh apostle in Mgr. Comboni, consecrated its first bishop on August 12, 1877, after many years of previous labour among its people. He created a special machinery for its evangelization in the institute founded at Verona in 1866 for supplying the Missions of Nigritia with trained male and female teachers and assistants. Funds were raised by a begging tour throughout Europe, and an auxiliary institution was established in Cairo, on a piece of ground presented by Ismail Khedive. With the aid of this organization, Mgr. Comboni was able to take over the Central African Mission, formally surrendered to him by the Franciscans in 1873, and in May of that year started from Cairo at the head of a missionary caravan, including Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition of Marseilles, the first female religious seen in Central Africa. One of these devoted nuns actually walked the whole distance from Korosko to Abu Hamed, nearly 300 miles, being unable to overcome her terror of mounting the camel.

Khartoum was not the goal of the expedition, as Mgr. Comboni, bent on the evangelization of Kordofan, proceeded to El Obeid, its capital, where a church and school were quickly opened. Branch stations were established at Djebel Nuba in the mountains, and at Malbes, half a day's journey south of El Obeid, founded as a rural colony to be occupied by married converts and their families. A terrible ordeal came upon these infant Missions in the desolating famine of 1878, which checked, among other beneficent projects, that of Gordon Pasha, then Governor-General, for the installation of the nuns in the hospitals built by him in Fashoda and Khartoum. Privation and anxiety so thinned the little band of workers at this time that Mgr. Comboni was at last left alone in Khartoum, the sole occupant

of the Mission. His own life long hung in the balance, but after a year's rest in Europe he was able to return to his diocese. He had the joy before his death of visiting his Missions in Kordofan, and seeing the fruits of his labours in an enlarged church and school in El Obeid, in a flourishing community of some thirty Christian households at Malbes, and in a little congregation of a hundred souls in the wilds of the Djebel Nuba. Exposure to a severe storm on his return from this last journey brought on an attack of fever, from which he died in Khartoum on October 10, 1881. The name Mutran Daniâl, or Bishop Daniel, by which he was known to the natives, was as dear and familiar to them as that of Abouna Soliman applied to his energetic predecessor, Dr. Knoblecher.

On his successor, Mgr. Francesco Sogaro, created Apostolic Vicar of Central Africa, September 22, 1882, has fallen the burden of the present calamities, and his entry into Khartoum on March 6, 1883, was followed by his withdrawal thence to Cairo, with all the *personnel* of the Mission, in December of the same year. Meantime, the survivors of the missionaries of Kordofan, originally thirteen, now reduced to nine—three priests, four sisters, and two lay-brothers—have endured for more than two years the miseries of captivity in the camp of the Mahdi, after seeing the ruin and plunder of their little folds in the wilderness. They are believed to be at Omdurman, with the head-quarters of the Arab army, all attempts to ransom them having hitherto proved vain.

The total death-roll of priests in the Soudan from 1847 to 1884 is thirty-seven, eighty-five being the number of those who have been sent there. Of these, sixteen, including a bishop, Mgr. Comboni, have left their ashes in Khartoum, where they lie buried within the grounds of the Mission.

For the moment it would seem as if so many sacrifices had been made in vain. The churches are desolate, the Missions wrecked, the flocks dispersed. The surging tide of infidel rage has swept over these scattered islets of Christianity, obliterating all trace of their existence. But because that narrow foothold for the faith was so hardly won we may assuredly hope that it will not be permanently lost. In the overmastering destiny by which a civilized Power is reluctantly hurried along to intervention in the Soudan we see a guarantee for its future regeneration, since only a violent revolution subverting all native rule could effect anything here, where experience has proved reform from within to be impossible.

Under Egyptian domination, the social pressure of Mohammedan intolerance must ever exclude Christian propagandism. Were this pressure removed, there would be, Father Dichtl

thinks, no obstacle to the conversion of the Negro and other non-Arab races of the Soudan, whose acceptance of their masters' creed is rather matter of necessity than conviction. Equally accessible to Christian influence are the Mohammedan women, of whom their own religion takes no account either in the present or future. Before Our Lady's altar in Khartoum, lights were kept perpetually burning by the offerings of poor Nubian women who came in secret to kneel at the shrine of her they know as Sitt Miriam, or Lady Mary, who raised their degraded sex to a dignity never conceived of before. But all such germs of Christian feelings or proclivities have been trampled into annihilation by the portentous triumph of the new Prophet of Islam.

The early career of this remarkable man was sketched in these pages twelve months ago, when he began to loom above the horizon of the desert as a possible shadow on the future of politics.* The destruction of Hicks Pasha had then rendered him a danger to Egypt; the fall of Khartoum has now made him a menace to Europe. With that event he enters on the third phase of his victorious career, in the character of a great Mohammedan conqueror. Master, in November, 1883, of the solitary province of Kordofan, this fanatic leader of a fanatic horde has since subjugated an empire as large as half Europe; for the fall of Kassala, imminent, it is to be feared, despite its heroic defence, will place him in possession of the whole Soudan from Dongola to the Equator. But the crowning triumph of this almost unprecedented conquest has been the capture of the stronghold of the Upper Nile, with all the halo conferred on it by its heroic resistance, and the personal prestige of its defender; for here the struggle, as in some epic poem, took the form of a single combat, in which the English Paladin and the swarthy champion of Islam confronted each other as the standard-bearers of their respective faiths. The remoteness of the scene of action invested it with the same misty glamour conferred by long lapse of time, and coloured contemporary history with all the legendary mystery of romance.

The Soudan capital, now become historical, dates only from the early days of Mehemet Ali's conquest of the Soudan. In the forks of the Nile where the Blue and White Rivers converge on a sandy tongue of land, a site was chosen for its strategic value, and there, in 1822, a town was built. The name El Khartoum, the Elephant's Trunk, is fancifully suggested by its position between the tusks of the Nile. Its rapid growth justified the

* DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1884, Art. VII. "The Revolution in the Soudan."

choice of situation, and its normal population was estimated before the siege at 50,000. Of these, fully two-thirds were slaves, the remainder a heterogeneous mixture of nationalities—Arabs, Copts, and Nubians, Levantine Greeks, Syrians, and Maltese. The morals of this motley crew were such as might be looked for in a community whose principal *raison d'être* was the slave trade. Of this iniquitous traffic Khartoum was the stronghold and emporium, and it was not without reason that it was termed by Herr Hansal, the Austrian consul, "the ill-famed metropolis of the infernal regions." Its prosperity fluctuated with the fluctuations of this source of gain, and, after the anti-slave-trade campaigns of Baker and Gordon on the White Nile, a large fraction of its population migrated to El Obeid. Its more legitimate trade in ivory, gum arabic, ostrich feathers, grain, and cattle amounted to thirteen millions a year, and was carried on by 1,000 European and 3,000 Egyptian commercial houses.

A fluvial fortress, with its front washed by the Blue Nile, and its rear encircled by an earthen rampart and ditch resting on the rivers, the position of Khartoum is still further strengthened by the natural ditch of the White Nile commanded by the guns of its fortifications. An entrenched camp at Omdurman, about four miles below the town, at the junction of the streams, was designed to guard the ferry of the Nile, and maintain communications with the west bank. The defensive resources of the fortress were supplemented by a flotilla of fifteen river-steamers, and a dockyard, created by Gordon's energy and foresight during his first Governor-Generalship (1877-79), afforded means for repairing and reconstructing them. Vast supplies of arms and ammunition were stored in the arsenal, the central depot of the Soudan.

An agglomeration of some 300,000 flat-roofed, mud-built houses irregularly grouped in winding streets and alleys, Khartoum is redeemed from unsightliness by the luxuriant vegetation enshrouding its hovels, and by its crown of plummy-crested palms tossed against the sky. Fronting the Blue Nile stands the Hukumdirieh, or Governor's Palace, memorable as Gordon's headquarters during the siege. As large as Marlborough House, with a stuccoed white façade and stately alley of palm-trees, its aspect recalls that of the Italian villas on the Genoese Riviera.

Far different, however, is the landscape commanded by its terrace-roof, the watch-tower of the solitary sentinel of civilization during the long months of his wardenship. Sombre in colouring and monotonous in outline is that wide and dreary expanse, skirted by low hills of drifted sand, over which the doomed eyes of Gordon swept, as morning by morning he looked in vain for the help that never came. True that a sky of undimmed translucency rested on the spacious horizons, and



that the ample breadth of stream, pale or glowing as it flushed and faded with the light, brought down the smile of heaven to soften the asperities of earth.

It is too soon to write in sober circumstantiality the history of the siege of Khartoum, for the first passion of sympathy, grief, and admiration with which contemporaries regard such an event is as inarticulate as a tornado. Details, too, are wanting, and we understand but in part the romantic story we remember so well. It was in the early days of March that the picturesque chivalry of the desert began to gather on the right bank of the Blue Nile, until the beleaguered city became the centre of a vast encampment, whose wild war-music resounded within its walls, and whose missiles fell there from morning to night. The tragical silence of isolation that then fell on its defenders was broken only by still more tragical utterances, as demands for help and protests against abandonment, white-hot with indignation or keen-edged with scorn, breathed all the bitterness of a strong spirit taken in the toils of a relentless fate. They fell on deaf ears, and were received with incredulity or indifference. Sometimes the veil of darkness seemed to drift aside for a moment, affording glimpses of a gallant defence—of poor resources turned to account by an ingenuity pathetic in its inventiveness—of a tenacity of purpose that never flinched—of a spirit that seemed to draw fresh courage from despair.

The monotony of the siege was broken midway by a heart-rending episode—the attempt at escape of a portion of the helpless inhabitants and the two gallant sharers of the lonely watch in Khartoum. We can call up in imagination what no living eye-witness will ever recount: the departure of the little flotilla that carried so many hopes and so many regrets—the small group of wistful white faces on deck turned to the one white face on shore amid so many dark ones—the parting cheer from aching hearts of those who left to him who stayed—the last farewell look of friends to meet never again in this life, so soon to meet beyond it. The shipwreck in the Nile—the death in the desert—form a close so tragical that fancy almost shrinks from dwelling on it in detail.

A striking document received in Cairo on September 20 gives a picture of the feelings of the inhabitants of the city at about this time. Transmitted in Arabic through Debbah and Assouan, it was dated August 19, and addressed to the Khedive, the Council of Ministers, and the British Consul-General at Cairo.

We, the military, the civilians, the Ulema, and inhabitants and settlers in Khartoum, submit for the consideration of the Khedive, that for six months we have been unceasing in our defence of the

capital, of our own lives and those of our children, and our property, day and night, till our misfortunes have assumed stupendous proportions, which threaten our ruin. We are completely cut off from the outer world, and have in vain looked for reinforcements and succour from our Government. We have been allowed to delude ourselves with vain hopes from hour to hour, while the Government shows indifference and delays.

Weakened and reduced to extremities, God in His mercy sent Gordon Pasha to us in the midst of our calamities of the siege, and we should all have perished from hunger and been destroyed, and our fate have been like most of the other garrisons in the Soudan, such as Berber and Kordofan. But we, sustained by his intelligence and great military skill, have been preserved in Khartoum up till now, nor does he, in the arduous task of the defence, omit his benevolent care for the people.

We are penniless, and without resources, and our patience is nearly exhausted.

The Government neither succours us, nor does it regard God's law, nor its own political duties. It makes no effort to suppress anarchy, or to prevent the effusion of blood, nor yet does it try to maintain its own and our honour, though we are its people, its own subjects and co-religionists.

Your Highness is aware that the Mahdi's pretensions are not restricted to certain places, or only to the Soudan, but are universal, and that his first designs against the Powers are directed against our own Turkish Government, whose total annihilation in war he is meditating. This is confirmed by the letters sent in to us by the rebel chiefs and commanders of the besieging forces.

Therefore, if the Government persists in its inactivity, and abstains from sending us aid to put down the revolt during the two months of high Nile, the whole Soudan will shortly be lost and the crisis culminate in our ruin! Such as we, who are besieged, will perish, or be taken captive, sharing the fate of our comrades in previous similar disasters.

Therefore we appeal to your Highness, and show you the true state of our calamities, imploring your mercy to deliver us from this great and universal misfortune.

(Signed by twenty-four superior military officers and eighteen civil employes at Khartoum.)

This document is interesting as the only record of the feelings of the native population under the pressure of their terrible calamities. Hope—too long deferred, too late fulfilled—revived on the approach of the Nile Expedition, and Khartoum, we are told, was illuminated on receipt of the news that the advanced guard was at Dongola.

History records no more thrilling incident than the last hopeful episode of the siege, the meeting between the Khartoum steamers on January 21 and the little shattered column

that had fought its way so gallantly across the desert to keep that tryst on the Nile. Bringing reinforcements of men and guns, and towing barges laden with goats and grain, nothing could have been better timed than the appearance of the flotilla just as a stinted half-ration had been served out to the English troops, weary from their arduous march. Thus Gordon's last act was to hold out a helping hand to his comrades, and give them a soldier's welcome, while yet a soldier's heart beat in his living breast.

For with the terrible swiftness of tragic climax, more crushing from previous hope grown almost to certainty, the end long-dreaded came at last. On January 28, the very day when the news of the meeting at Metemmeh reached England—the fifty-second anniversary, as it chanced, of Gordon's birth—when friends and kinsfolk and countrymen were rejoicing in his approaching deliverance, the British relieving party arrived at Khartoum, to find it had been forty-eight hours in the possession of the enemy.

From the fire of ten thousand hostile rifles converging on them from either bank, from the sight of banners borne high in triumph by wild warriors surging through the streets, they learned the fatal truth. But most of all was it brought home to them by the bereaved and mournful aspect of the Palace, bare of flag or ensign, defaced with marks of ruthless violence, and mutely unresponsive to the fact of their approach.

Not even in death were they to look upon the face of him they hoped to save—not even on his unconscious clay might a comrade's hand be laid in reverent pity at the end. By the treachery of one he trusted, in the streets which had so often rung with acclamations for his bounty, on the threshold of the dwelling where he had spent so much of his life's energy in the service of the people who slew him, Gordon died in the discharge of his trust. Yet in the manner of his death, as told by those who professed to have witnessed it, there was a certain appropriateness to his strangely dual character and career. For he fell as a soldier leading soldiers on—but to save and succour rather than to slay; with arms in his hands, but no blood on them; in fight, yet unsoiled at the last with the immediate heat and fury of the fray; surrounded by enemies, yet in his heart at peace with all men.

The volley that struck him down gave painless release to his gallant spirit; but how can we trust ourselves to speak of the long agony that went before; how think, without a shudder, of his endurance of what society shrinks from inflicting on its worst criminals—the long anticipation of an inevitable death? Never did poet or dramatist conceive a situation more pathetically

forlorn than his during that last month of life spent in writing his simple letters of "good-bye" to the distant friends he loved.

But, in apportioning the guilt for his fate, it should be remembered that the nation was in this the accomplice of the Government. The majority of twenty-eight by which the House of Commons, in May, 1884, refused to censure his abandonment voted his death-warrant, leaving his life to be deliberately gambled away as the stake of political faction. Nor is there one of his countrymen to whom the following words of his despatch of September 9 do not seem addressed in personal reproach:—

How many times have we written asking for reinforcements, calling your serious attention to the Soudan? No answer at all has come to us as to what has been decided in the matter, and the hearts of men have become weary of this delay. While you are eating, drinking, and resting on good beds, we and those with us, both soldiers and servants, are watching by night and day endeavouring to quell the movement of this false Mahdi.

For eleven months Gordon had stood between England and the Mahdi—his fall brought them face to face. For while his fame had bridged the desert, and linked unknown Africa to Europe, his death but forged the chain more securely, and rivetted it with the adamantine inviolability of the tomb. His mission, from every point of view a practical failure, secured the moral triumph of his ends. His gallant defence, indeed, but increased at the time the sum of suffering he had hoped to avert, and was a cause of universal and widespread disaster. Yet this apparent failure was working to wider and larger achievement than he could have dreamed of, towards consummating all the purposes of his life. By his months of hopeless struggle, by his lonely and forsaken death, he accomplished a work invisible to himself—he consecrated Khartoum to civilization. No monument will, perhaps, ever mark the spot where he rests, but the city he died for will be sacred to his memory for ever. The cynosure of the world's gaze, irradiated by his last exploits, that remote spot, lost in the immensity of the desert, has been ransomed from barbarism and oblivion. A place of penitential pilgrimage for Englishmen to all time, they will carry thither an inheritance of remorse for that story of gallantry and desertion which is at once the glory and the shame of their race. Already the poignant sense of national humiliation has urged on an enterprise of expiation, and from reluctant lips the fiat has gone forth that Khartoum must be re-taken though its girdling sands be soaked in blood. Thus the dead Gordon leads his countrymen to the undertaking to which the living Gordon

strove to nerve them in vain, and England, no longer counting the cost, follows his radiant shade to the fulfilment of the task his life left uncompleted.

The strength of the revulsion of feeling caused by the catastrophe was evidenced by the reckless haste with which the same Government which had waded through seas of blood to the accomplishment of its purpose of abandoning the Soudan now pledged itself to its recovery and subjugation; while history seemed turned to a burlesque by the spectacle of a Minister sending three military expeditions within twelve months against a people described by him as "rightly struggling to be free."

But there are supreme moments of destiny when human volition seems temporarily overruled or suspended, and men become the blind and unwilling instruments of fate. So, under the influence of an overwhelming paroxysm of national excitement, the timorous counsellors of withdrawal became the mouthpieces of a sudden policy of daring, and the members of an Administration of expedients, swept along helpless as straws in a whirlpool, found themselves irrevocably drawn into the tremendous vortex of future complications created by the declared resolution to recapture Khartoum. From their point of view, there was nothing to justify such a decision. The possession of the great Nile stronghold, despite the prestige it confers on the Mahdi's cause, at least throws on him the onus of further initiative. If he remain stationary, the break-up of his power is but a question of time, while, if he advance, it will be to shatter himself against the English garrisons in Egypt. The strength of his position is in the desert in its front, and to attack him on the farther side of that barrier, now that all is lost beyond it, is to throw the game into his hands. The garrisons and population have already endured the worst, and the moral shock of the present disaster will have been discounted long ere it can be retrieved.

But there are higher interests involved than those of mere temporary expediency—interests to which England in former days was not indifferent. To her, who once seemed to have inherited the part played by Rome in ancient civilization of heralding the Gospel among the heathen, a great opportunity is now offered of once more carrying the torch in front of the nations to twelve benighted millions of the human race. To her, who was once the recognized champion of humanity in her generous crusade against the slave trade, has come the call to strike at the very roots of its accursed vitality, and deliver mankind from its anathema for ever. But should she falter or decline the task, she will give her enemies too much reason for what they begin to say of her, that her days of greatness are

numbered, and that a decrepit Government is but the fitting representative of a decrepit nation.

For it is but a coward's plea that power can be divorced from responsibility, or peace preserved by the tame policy of universal surrender. And England, should she barter her Imperial inheritance of greatness for the Radical mess of pottage, will soon cease to exist not only as a Power, but as a people. It is only at the sword's point that nations hold their right to existence, while the ultimate appeal in matters of public right is to arms.

War is a terrible scourge, one of the three mightiest weapons in the armoury of Divine wrath, but there are worse things than even war. Worse is the creeping palsy that chills the vital springs of a nation's heart; worse the vile spirit of commercial greed that saps its sense of honour. Nay, there is in our midst an enemy whose inglorious carnage slays its thousands as surely as the sword. Drunkenness makes more victims in a year than a week of battle, amid a moral extinction worse than a thousand deaths.

But if England shrink from the mission thrust upon her by the strange destiny linking her national honour with the fate of Khartoum, she should at least not bar the path to others willing to undertake it. The colonizing fever broken out simultaneously all over the Continent makes African soil at this moment a coveted prize to national competition, and many claimants might be found for the derelict Equatorial empire of Egypt. Austria, the generous patron of the Mission of Central Africa, would perhaps be willing to venture something for its restoration, while Italy is already on the spot with the best part of a *corps d'armée* on the Red Sea littoral. Tried by the test of the Suez Canal works and the Napoleonic campaign in Russia, the Italians have proved their superiority in withstanding extremes of climate, and are in this respect adapted for an occupation of the Soudan. But no hope can be placed in a government which has done all in its power to destroy in its very centre the civilizing and missionary influence of the Church. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda has already taken advantage of the military expedition, sending two native priests to the Red Sea coast as pioneers; and three Franciscans of the Ara Coeli, one a native of Khartoum, the others Abyssinians, have accompanied the troops first despatched, while the members of the same Order established in Abyssinia and the Eastern Soudan have been instructed to co-operate in every way with the military commanders. The Cruciferi, or Fathers of St. Camillus, have offered their services as chaplains and hospital-assistants, and the General of the Order has presented the Minister of War with a valuable map of Abyssinia and the littoral, on which roads, distances,

wells, and all natural features are indicated for the use of the Order, which has many affiliated members in those regions.* Thus every advantage will be taken of coming military operations to push the interests of religion in the Soudan.

But while we need not doubt the eventual success of undertakings brought about by so strange a conjuncture of circumstances, we cannot blind ourselves to the difficulties that beset them in the immediate future. The advance of civilization against this vast stronghold of barbarism, moated by the desert, must necessarily be slow, for physical geography here absolutely governs the political and military situation. An unwieldy empire, with frontiers some 1,400 miles apart each way, and an area which, if the rough estimate of 2,500,000 square miles be correct, would exceed by a fourth that of European Russia, the Soudan is isolated from the rest of the world by the almost impassable zone of thirst girdling it to the north.

The desert, however, has its degrees of habitability, and is divided into two categories—el djebel or el berriyah (the mountain or wilderness), a parched and sterile, but not absolutely lifeless region, and el atmour, the ideal desert of the imagination, where nothing grows or lives, and whose arid monotony of stony plain is varied only by tracts of loose sand, mountainous ridges, and rocky defiles. To the first class belongs the seaward half of the Suakin Desert, which afterwards merges into the second, represented by the Nubian or Korosko waste. General Colston, who spent two years in exploratory travels through the Soudan, describes the atmour in an article in the *Century* magazine for March, 1885.

Within the limits of Egypt and the Soudan, these desolate atmours extend over three-quarters of a million of square miles, never trodden by the foot of man. Only a few caravan trails cross them in their narrowest parts, with scanty wells at long intervals, and the necessities of trade can alone account for their being penetrated at all. They are like oceans, where caravans pass each other in haste like ships at sea. The marches are perfectly terrible, and yet it is worse to halt during the day than to keep in motion, for the heat makes sleep or rest impossible even under canvas. With the burning sand under your feet, and the vertical sun over your head, you are as between the lids of an oven. In summer the thermometer rises to 150 and 160 degrees. The air that blows feels as if it had just passed through a furnace or a brick-kiln. Over the plains it quivers visibly in the sun, as if rising from a red-hot stove, while the mirage mocks your senses with the most life-like appearance of lakes, ponds, and rippling waters. No more laughter or merriment along the column now. Soldiers and

* *Times*, March 3, 1885.

camp-followers protect themselves as best they can with turbans and blankets, bringing over all the hoods of their cloth *capotes*, leaving only a narrow opening just enough to see; whilst, strange to say, the Bedouins stride along on foot, *bareheaded* and almost naked, without appearing to suffer any discomfort. Were not the nights comparatively cool (80° in summer), neither men nor animals could endure the terrible ordeal.

Life in the habitable desert, or steppe, is more tolerable, and in the cool season even enjoyable. The landscape has indeed the character of a rocky wilderness, but occasional showers in the rainy season convert the wadies, or valleys, into the beds of brief, though furious, torrents, and the subterranean moisture permanently retained by them nourishes a characteristic vegetation, coarse herbage, and trees or shrubs of the acacia and mimosa tribe. The mountains stand out in harsh nudity, rendered in many places more forbidding by the funereal blackness of the porphyritic rocks composing them. In the Arabian chain, however, parallel to the Red Sea, their absence of charm to the eye is compensated by the gratification of another sense, as their desolation is fragrant with perfume, breathed on the desert air by acres of heliotrope and other aromatic plants.

These habitable wastes, extending over a surface of 5,000 or 6,000 square miles, are the home of the Bedouins, who shift their camps with the change of seasons, within limits strictly defined for each tribe. Their subjection to Cairo is more nominal than real, the patriarchal sway of their hereditary Sheikhs being the only authority they recognize. These latter are responsible for the annual tribute of their people and for the safety of the routes of travel and traffic through their dominions, but their relation to Egypt is rather that of vassals than of subjects. Hussein Pasha Khalifa, the late Governor of Berber, was the most powerful of these desert princes. Ruling as absolute sovereign over 70,000 subjects of the Ababdeh tribe, rich in flocks and herds, in lands and jewels, his noble presence and dignified courtesy of demeanour corresponded to his position, rendering him the ideal patriarch of Scripture. It is said that after the fall of Berber this magnate of the Soudan had to present himself to Mohammed Ahmed, the carpenter's son, of Dongola, with dust on his head, and in the garments of a humble suppliant.

The interposition of this belt of perennial drought between Equatorial and Upper Egypt is what renders the question of communications a vital one for the future of the Soudan. The Nile valley, it is true, carries up an oasis ribbon of fertility through the heart of the Nubian sands, but the river is barred to navigation by the rocky rapids impeding its flow, while its shores

are rendered unavailable as a highway of land travel by the devious nature of its course. Describing here a vast double curve shaped like the letter S, it embraces a desert in either loop, imposing on travellers who wish to strike across the chord of the arc, the passage of the Nubian Atmour from Korosko to Abu Hamed, or of the Bayuda Steppe from Debbeh to Khartoum.

Hence the most hopeful feature of the present emergency as regards the future of the country is the imminent construction of a railway under the urgent stress of military necessity. The bridging of the desert by steam-transit will work a more permanent revolution than any conquest by force of arms, and yet is a work of such difficulty as could be only undertaken under the most stringent pressure of circumstances. Hence the conclusion of a contract for the Suakin-Berber Railway, long ago declared by Gordon to be a *sine quâ non* for the welfare of the Soudan, may be regarded as the first-fruits of the extraordinary change in its destiny wrought by the fall of Khartoum. Meantime, the requirements of the force at Korti have prescribed the completion of communication along the Nile valley by sections of railway flanking the cataracts and rapids, in continuation of the line already existing for fifty miles south of Wady Halfa.

The execution of these works followed as an absolute necessity on the declared intention of retaking Khartoum, since, without them, that stronghold is, to a force strong enough in numbers and armament to attempt its reduction, practically inaccessible. Thus, the immediate military emergency, forcing on an undertaking too vast for private enterprise, will have hastened probably by half a century the advent of civilization in the Soudan. The natural difficulties to be overcome in the construction of the Suakin-Berber line are great, and include the provision, by pipes, of an artificial water-supply along the entire way, the ascent of many steep gradients, the highest attaining an altitude of 2,870 feet above the sea, and the passage of a rocky country intersected by deep gullies. Experts are of opinion that the line cannot be completed for more than two years, while military critics declare that a force of 30,000 men will be required to guard it from hostile attacks. But the outlay of time and labour on the enterprise will be amply compensated from every point of view by the resulting advantages, since the annihilation of the desert as an obstacle to traffic will revolutionize the entire political and military situation. Gordon declared in 1882 that no real progress could be made in the Soudan until the arid belt of 280 miles of sand separating it from the rest of the world was spanned by railway communication; and went on to say:—

Had this route been opened when I was in the Soudan, it would have been infinitely more simple to have governed those countries. The hidden misery of peoples in the dark places of the Soudan exists because no light is thrown on those lands, and it is certain, when it is known that the railway is completed, an entire change will take place in the whole of this country.

But it is not merely as a work of beneficence, making known the "hidden misery" that preyed on Gordon like a nightmare, that the desert railway will repay its cost, since, regarded from a purely practical point of view as a commercial speculation, it is likely to prove highly profitable. All that has been said as to the worthlessness of the Soudan as a possession refers to its present isolated condition, and the modern magic of the steam-engine, bringing the Nile within twenty-four hours of the Red Sea, will work an instantaneous transformation. Beyond the desert lies a great Equatorial region, called by Dr. Schweinfurth "the India of Africa," where population and natural wealth increase with remoteness from civilization. The Soudan may be roughly divided into three zones—the true desert, or atmour, extending from the northern Tropic to Khartoum; the steppe region, characterized by scrubby jungle, and sandy plains fertilized by annual rainfall, between 15° and 11° N. lat.; and the forest belt, beginning in Southern Darfur and Kordofan, and attaining the full exuberance of tropical vegetation in the outlying provinces of the Bahr el Gazal and Khatt el Istwa, or Equator. As these remote regions are connected with Khartoum by uninterrupted waterways, which a civilized Government would keep clear of the occasional overgrowth of weed, they would find their natural outlet by the Red Sea, and their crude riches, hitherto, as it were, dammed up by difficulty of transit, would be bartered at Suakin for the European goods always in demand among African races.

Even in their existing isolation, the European Governors of these provinces, Emin and Lupton Beys, were doing much to develop their resources previous to the outbreak of the insurrection, and both not only paid their expenses, but were able to hand over surplus revenue to the Treasury. Tree butter (valuable for the manufacture of soap), tamarinds, ivory, and gutta-percha are found there in inexhaustible quantities; and the value of the produce sent by Emin Bey as the tribute of the Equatorial Province, amounting in 1880 to £9,000, had risen in the following year to £13,000 sterling.

Lupton Bey, Governor of the Bahr el Gazal, in the last letter received from him, written November, 1883, states that he had then collected 2,500 cwt. of ivory and 300 cwt. of india-rubber, amounting in value to £100,000, and was only waiting

for a steamer to forward them to the Government, which would have had a clear profit of £60,000 on a year's administration of the province.

The financial indebtedness of the Soudan is entirely due to the rapacity of its officials, and with honest Governors it would easily pay its expenses, but with the present system of farming out the revenue to the highest bidder, who, in his turn, sub-lets the privilege to others, only a small proportion of the taxes eventually reaches the Government. Gordon, whose financial reform, though the least heroic, was perhaps the most wonderful part of his administration, not only made the Soudan pay its way, but executed considerable public works; built the causeway at Suakin, and two hospitals at Fashoda and Khartoum, created the dockyard at the latter place, and organized the postal and telegraph services. This, too, though he had to suppress two formidable insurrections and other lesser local risings. There is little doubt that, under permanent European control, the Soudan Budget would show a surplus instead of a deficit.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 14 contains an interesting report of a conversation, on "The Commercial Value of the Soudan," with Mr. A. B. Wylde, the original promoter of the Suakin-Berber Railway, and for many years traffic agent at the Red Sea ports of Suakin and Jeddah. The cost of camel transport to Berber amounted, he says, to £10 a ton, an almost prohibitory tariff, the carrying trade being in the hands of the Hadendowa Arabs, the fierce warriors of Osman Digna. This tribe would naturally be permanently opposed to the construction of a railway, on the ground of its interference with their vested interests. Mr. Wylde, who is very sanguine as to the future in store for British trade in Central Africa and the Nile valley when the new line is constructed, spoke as follows on its prospects:—

Suakin, if the railway is made, is destined to rival Alexandria yet. It will be the great commercial *entrepôt* of North Africa. Even as it is, when all merchandise dribbles on camel-back across the desert, it has grown in importance, until now it is one of the first trading stations on the East African coast. One great disadvantage, however, that it labours under is that, in common with the rest of the littoral of the Red Sea, it has to import nearly all its grain from the Persian Gulf or from India. If, however, the railway is made, it is needless to say that not only Suakin, but all the Red Sea coasts, would derive their grain supply from the valley of the Nile, and the transport of this grain would form no small item of revenue to the railway. As much as 18,000 tons of grain is imported into Suakin every year. The only district in the neighbourhood that will grow grain is the small patch of land near Tokar. Osman Digna was one of my cus-

tomers, and, like other chiefs, was in the habit of buying wholesale in order to retail grain to his subjects. How he has managed to get along this last year I do not know. His men must often have been on short commons, although they have very extensive herds upon which they can live. Their bread supplies, however, would run short. From Suakin a steamer runs every week to Suez, carrying about three or four hundred tons of goods, while the monthly steamer carries about the same weight from Suakin to London and other ports. This trade is capable of large development, and those who saw the quantities of Manchester piece goods which were cleared out when the road had been blocked for three months, and it was expected that the Arabs would rush the town, were surprised at the stock which was required to carry on trade with the interior. Business at present is confined to goods that will bear the cost of transit across the desert, but when the railway is completed there will be an enormous impetus given to trade of every kind, and we may safely calculate on a minimum yearly carriage of 150,000 tons. The great difficulty of the natives round the coast is want of water. Wherever there is water they can grow anything they like. At Tokar, before the rebellion, cotton plantations flourished, the one difficulty being an occasional lack of rain. If by chance a rain-cloud passes over the desert it becomes as green as a meadow for a few days, and then all is burned up again. On the Nile the natives cannot sell the produce of their land, so they grow no more than they absolutely need. Give them an opening for their grain, and they will very soon cut out all foreign producers who at present supply the Suakin market. Nor is there any reason why Suakin should not become a great grain-exporting port, and that the English market may be supplied by farmers around Khartoum.

Thus even on purely utilitarian grounds the permanent abandonment of the Soudan would be a suicidal policy. England, searching the universe for fresh markets for her surplus manufactures, has here thrust on her by fate an empire on the Upper Niles the wants of whose population would alone suffice to keep her silent looms permanently in motion. Will she allow it to slip through her fingers, deluded by the shallow sophistries of phrasemongers?

It is perhaps hopeless in the present state of public feeling to appeal to higher motives, but it would be nevertheless a failure in duty to pass them over in silence. The authority just quoted concludes as follows:—

Another aspect of the question which should not be overlooked is the effect which the development of commerce has on the slave trade. At present Osman Digna and his people, who are inveterate slave traders, find that human merchandise, which can not only transport itself across the desert, but carry the goods and chattels of its owners, is almost the only trade that can pay. Give them another outlet for their energies, help them to make money otherwise than by dealing in

black ivory, and we shall see the slave trade extirpated where it has hitherto defied all attempts at its repression.

If this prediction should be fulfilled, humanity will not think the result too dearly bought even at the cost of the calamities we are now witnessing. It would seem, indeed, as if the vials of avenging wrath were at last about to be poured forth over a people whose atrocities have so long cried to Heaven in vain, and as if the slave trade, that epitome of all crime, must now be swept by fire and sword from the regions it has for centuries made a fiends' paradise. For here all alike are guilty—governors and governed, Arabs and Egyptians. The Bedouin tribes pay their tribute by the produce of their slave-raids, the Pashas levy toll on the miserable gangs smuggled through their towns. The organization of iniquity is intertwined with every fibre of the social fabric, and all ties are cemented and founded on the prescriptive right of man to prey upon man. Nothing short of universal disruption can overthrow this universal conspiracy of crime, and only the dread discipline of war can eradicate horrors to which those of war itself are but as a child's pastime.

One opportunity for the milder cure of self-reformation was offered to the people of the Soudan, and a voice was heard in their midst warning them of the judgments in store for them. Gordon came for the first time amongst them as the messenger of mercy—though the forerunner of wrath. Through all his vast provinces, from north to south and from east to west, he flashed at meteor-speed, the visible type of a higher morality. Swift camels dropped dead beneath him as he sped through the deserts, urged on by the passion of pity within him, his presence a protest, his whole life and being a perpetual witness of warning and condemnation.

Riding with Yussuf Bey, a noted slave-dealer, he pointed to one of the many skulls that lined the slavers' track, telling him that the inmate of that piteous relic of mortality had told the God they all believed in of the wrong done to him and his, and that the curse of Heaven would be on the land until this traffic should cease. In Darfur he washed his hands in the desert sand, in presence of the people, to express his abhorrence of their acts, and disclaim all responsibility for them. Yet even under the stringency of his repression the slave trade never wholly ceased, and on his departure its worst horrors were renewed. Thus his mission failed, and he himself declared in sadness it would have been better he had never been sent.

He came for the second time as the harbinger of woes foretold by him in vain to an incorrigible people, his death the immediate cause of their full accomplishment. The sword must

in the first instance answer to the challenge of the sword, but a nobler vengeance is ultimately due to the soldier who fought only in the cause of humanity.

It is a mockery to talk of a memorial to Gordon while the champion of Mohammedanism and slavery hurls defiance to civilization across his grave. The hero's fame may be trusted to the world and posterity, but from his own country it is expiation, not celebration, that is owed to his memory. When England shall have fulfilled the duty imposed on her by so strange a fatality—when something shall have been done to alleviate the miseries of that people burning pity for whom was the passion of his later life—to lighten those sufferings whose burden, as he said, was laid on him for so many years—when Khartoum, the slave-dealers' metropolis of infamy, shall have been dedicated as his monument to be the Christian and Christianizing capital of the Soudan—when the long-bleeding wound in the heart of Africa shall be stanchd at last, then, and not till then, England, sheathing the sword, may, if she will, devise some other record of her worthy pride in the memory of her dead hero.

ART. VIII.—THE BRAIN AND THE MIND.

CELLS in the centre, and fibres running to and fro, constitute the spinal cord with its nerves; and we can understand tolerably well how these simple elements may suffice for the ends which the spinal cord and its nerves fulfil. But what have cells and fibres to do with thought, with love, with moral choice, with will? Yet beyond them there is nothing visible in the brain. Such identity of structure, such difference of use! It is very perplexing. Nor can we take refuge in the idea suggested by some, that, since the brain is used for feeling and for thinking, therefore the spinal cord, which is just like it, only arranged inside out, must be so too; and that, in fact, our backs contrive and will, though we know nothing of it.

Cells and fibres! Surely no one would have believed how much could be done with them. The simplest means of effecting the offices needed from the little nervous system of the lowest creatures, they are still used when are super-added to these the lofty functions of human life. For it is part of Nature's grand economy ever to employ existing resources, to construct the higher from the lower, and on the pattern which that lower affords. The advance of the nervous organization, therefore,

being upwards from the merely unconscious system, which is termed "reflex," the super-added parts are based on the same model; and the reflected actions of the spinal cord become the key to the structure and functions of the brain.

It is certain that we have not been able to find the mind in the brain, but it is hardly too much to say that we can find the brain in the mind—that is, in our mode of feeling and thinking, of consciously acting, suffering, and enjoying, we may find reflected the constitution of the brain and the relations of its parts. Thus, it is by outward impressions that our mental activity is called forth—we think and will when we have perceived and felt. And when perception and feeling have moved us to reflection and excited us to act, we carry out our determinations by a simple effort, unconscious of the varied machinery we have to put in motion to perform even the smallest act. Clearly there is a "reflex function" here; a stimulus transmitted, a reception at a centre or station—the central station of all—and a transmission again of a stimulus to the active organs, or muscles. Consciousness is in the centre, and reflects, but Will takes the place of mere physical impulse; yet the plan and arrangement of the spinal cord are followed. Now, for this mode of operation, what order of parts should there be? We can pretty well tell it beforehand. There is wanted first a centre (consisting of cells, of course) in which impressions from all the nerves should be received and grouped ready for transmission to the "reflecting" organ; then there must be a centre—another mass of cells—for the purpose of receiving and subjecting to the process of reflection, in its double sense, these impressions; and finally another centre to receive the single impulse of the will, and transmit it with order and precision to the muscles suited to carry out its commands. And all these parts must be fully united by conducting lines of fibres with each other and with the spinal cord.

Such is the structure of the brain, speaking generally, and disregarding subordinate parts. The higher portion of the brain is termed the hemispheres, from its shape, and is the special organ of the mind. It consists of cells on the surface and fibres within, being opposite in this to the spinal cord, in which the fibres are outside. The little brain is situated behind the brain proper, and is covered by it. The office of this "cerebellum," or little brain, is a somewhat doubtful point as yet, but the results of experiments indicate that it serves the purpose of associating the various muscles, and enabling the animal to execute complicated movements which involve their united action. In the case of a pigeon, for example, from which the hemispheres of the true brain have been removed, the bird is deprived of anything like

power of thought; it stands plunged in a state of profound stupor, and is almost entirely inattentive to surrounding objects. Occasionally it opens its eyes with a vacant stare, stretches its neck, perhaps shakes its bill once or twice, or smoothes down the feathers upon its shoulders, and then relapses into its former apathy. At the same time it seems to perceive impressions on its senses or skin, and responds to them by slight movements. It may even follow a light with its eyes. On the other hand, the bird from which the "little brain" has been removed is in a constant state of agitation, is easily terrified, and endeavours frequently, and with violent struggles, to escape the notice of those who are watching it; but its movements are sprawling and unnatural, and are evidently no longer under control. It is incapable of assuming or retaining any natural position, but its legs and wings are almost constantly agitated with irregular and ineffectual struggles. The little brain, therefore, seems to act somewhat as the regulating wheel in an engine in respect to the larger brain behind which it lies concealed. But it has, doubtless, also other functions, one of which is very likely that of maintaining the nervous activity while the brain proper is asleep. The cells on its surface are arranged in layers closely packed, in appearance somewhat like a tree. Hence it was called the "*Arbor Vitæ*," or Tree of Life, in the early days of anatomy—a name that recalls the vague sense of wonder with which these structures must have impressed their first discoverers.

The effect of removing the hemispheres of the brain as described above proves them to be the organs of thought; but similar evidence is furnished by other facts. Intelligence is exhibited in the animal world in close correspondence with the degree of development of these organs. According as the animal rises in the scale do the upper parts of the brain make their appearance. In fishes they are exceedingly small. The brain-case of the shark will scarcely admit the finger. As we advance among the quadrupeds they become larger, and their surface is gathered up into convolutions so as to afford room for a greater extent of gray matter. In man the hemispheres of the brain constitute nine-tenths of its entire mass; and the convolutions attain a size vastly larger than in any other creature. Taking in both the great and the little brain, they have been calculated to afford a surface in a full-sized adult of 670 square inches. The convolutions follow a definite order in their development, are always alike in animals of the same class, and correspond strictly on the two sides of the head.

The brain may be regarded as an expansion and unfolding of the spinal cord, which, running up into the head, spreads out into bands of radiating fibres on each side, in a form roughly suggest-

ive of the root and first pair of leaves put forth by a growing seed. The fibres on each side curve round in a beautifully spiral manner externally, so as to return upon themselves, and they are thus hidden from view by the gray matter which covers their surface. The spaces in the brain, being divided by bands of fibres here and there, have received the fanciful name of the "ventricles," or little stomachs. They answer the purpose of permitting the free passage of blood to and from the interior of the brain, and are filled with the same fluid that bathes its exterior. For the whole of the central nervous system, brain and spinal cord alike, reposes on a water bed; it is surrounded by a membrane folded on itself (like a double night-cap when placed on the head), and filled with a thin layer of fluid closely resembling water. This fluid separates the brain from its bony case, guards it from shocks, and gives it, both externally and in the ventricles within, the most delicate and exact support in all its motions. Beneath this double membrane a fine tissue, carrying a close mesh of blood-vessels, immediately overlies the surface of the brain, and, dipping down between the convolutions, bathes them with a copious supply of blood, and around the whole there is wrapped a tough membrane which lines the bones, separates the various portions of the brain by strong partitions, sends off sheaths around the nerves, and furnishes channels for the returning blood.

The brain, then, is a double organ, consisting of two distinct halves precisely corresponding to each other. In fact, though they are contained within one cavity, we have as truly two brains as we have two eyes or two hands. Seen from above, these two brains are found separated by a deep interval in which we can lay the hand. They are united, however, in man and the higher animals, by large and numerous bands of fibres passing from one to the other.

This doubleness of the brain has given rise to some curious speculations. Dr. Wigan fancies that the mind also is double, a suggestion which of course we cannot accept. But we certainly seem to find in our experience many traces of the influence of our double brain. How often, for example, are we not conscious of carrying on a train of thought, and at the same time calmly criticizing ourselves in doing it? In day-dreaming, do we not think in two ways at once—indulging unbounded fancies on the one hand (or brain), and holding on to the cold reality by the other? If the latter also were to slip its grasp, how far should we be from temporary madness? In disease these characteristics of thought become still more marked; delirium often begins with the feeling of being two persons, or in two conditions, at once; or illusions are at the same time felt as reali-

ties and yet known to be false. May not these conditions be referable to loss of harmony between the brains? And, again, those strange experiences called "double consciousness," in which a person passes alternately from one condition of thought, apprehension, memory, into another entirely different, forgetting wholly in the one state what has happened in the other—do we not naturally ascribe them to an alternate activity and torpor of the two "organs of the mind"? We may not be quite right in so doing, but we can hardly resist entertaining them. Even in healthful, vigorous thought, may not the action of both brains be traced? May not *attention* be the bringing both of them to bear on one subject, as *looking* is directing both eyes to a common point? When intent upon a thought, do we not almost feel as if we grasped it with one part of our mind and worked upon it with another, holding it steady, as it were, while we bring our force to bear upon it?

However this may be, the double brain serves the purpose of providing a surplussage of power beyond that which is habitually in demand. We possess a "reserve" of nervous faculty not drawn upon in ordinary life, so that great losses may be sustained by the brain without giving rise to any apparent symptoms. Large portions of one hemisphere have been destroyed by disease or injury, and yet the mental powers have seemed entirely unimpaired; just as a person may be almost blind on one side for a long while without discovering his loss. Of this the most striking instance on record is, perhaps, the following, which, incredible as it may seem, is reported on good authority. A pointed iron bar, three and a half feet long and one inch and a quarter in diameter, was driven by the premature blasting of rock completely through the side of the head of a man who was present. It entered below the temple, and made its exit at the top of the forehead, just about the middle line. The man was stunned, and lay in a delirious, semi-stupefied state for about three weeks. At the end of sixteen months, however, he was in perfect health, with the wounds healed and with the mental and bodily functions unimpaired, except that the sight was lost in the eye of the injured side. Those curious cases, too, in which one side of the body suffers some peculiar affection exactly limited to the middle line are attributable to a diverse action of the two hemispheres of the brain. Some persons perspire only on one side, and they are apt to be thrown into this partial perspiration by any nervous agitation. Sir Henry Holland mentions the case of a horse which had this peculiarity, and became giddy when heated. Many affections of the skin, also, which are greatly under the influence of the nervous system are precisely limited in the same way.

The brain, however, consists of two brains united into one only because the body also is, in strictness, two bodies united into one. Each half of the body is presided over by its own half of the brain, but not by that which is nearest to it. The fibres, in descending from the brain to the limbs, cross each other, and go to the opposite side. The execution of Solomon's judgment was physically, as well as morally, impossible. To divide is virtually to decapitate the living frame. Each mangled portion would contain not its own brain, but that of its fellow. Hence it is that, when paralysis ensues from disease in one hemisphere of the brain, the opposite side of the body is deprived of its powers. This, however, does not hold of the face; from the same cause the face may be rendered motionless on one side and the limbs on the other.

The brain, however, can present us with still more startling phenomena. Who, for instance, would have supposed that the seat of sensibility would itself be entirely insensitive? Yet this is the case. While all parts of the spinal cord and all the nerves are sensitive to any irritant, to a touch, a prick, or an electric shock, any one of these exciting intense pain or producing convulsive movements, the chief part of the brain is insensible to them all. It may be cut, contused, burnt, electrified, with no result save loss of its powers following destruction of its substance. And this character of indifference to direct stimulation seems to extend (according to the careful experiment of Flourens) just to those parts of the brain which subserve in mental processes. Where consciousness is connected with the function, there sensibility to physical stimulus is lost. There is thus a sort of oppositeness between those portions of the nervous system which conduct impressions to the central organ, and those whose office it is to present these impressions to the mind. Each is susceptible of its appropriate stimulus, and of that alone. The brain responds directly to the mental forces of thought and will, but to physical stimuli only when conveyed to it through the appointed nervous channel. The spinal cord and nerves are directly amenable to physical stimuli, but obey the mental power only when conveyed to them through the brain. Each portion is thus the converse of the other. If we imagine the nervous system spread out before us, it would be sensitive to irritation in all parts except its centre, while in that centre alone would be found the power of awakening consciousness. There the brain sits a monarch, inaccessible except through his ministers. Perhaps there is something similar to this in our mental constitution. We know well how little we can do by direct effort in the way of remembrance or of thinking. Thought, as well as sensation, has its appointed channels, and cannot be

commanded. We cannot compel an idea to arise; we can only facilitate its up-springing by opening our minds to that class of subjects which shall most readily suggest it to us. The mind has its own system of nerves, to the impulses of which alone it will respond; these ramify over the entire body, and find their expression in the laws of the "association of ideas."

But one of the most curious points connected with the action of the brain is the part it seems to play in what may be termed "unconscious thinking." Sir William Hamilton has pointed out that our perceptions are often made up of a number of impressions, each of which is itself unperceived. When the roaring of the sea is heard at a distance, the total sound is an aggregate of a multitude of smaller sounds, those of the separate waves, themselves too weak to reach the ear. In a somewhat similar way, intellectual results are arrived at by a course of thoughts (if we must call them so) each step in which seems too slight or too evanescent to be itself perceived. Dr. Laycock has especially pursued this subject, and has shown how constant and how important a part of our experience it is which assumes this form. Every one knows how often a new light arises on matters which have perplexed us, without any effort or even consciousness of our own about them, as if our ideas re-arranged themselves while we slept or attended to other things; and even highest flights of genius, the inspiration alike of the poet and the man of science, are forms of thought which seem most emphatically to be characterized by this spontaneousness. Of these achievements, often, nothing can be said, even by their authors, but that "they come to them." *Poeta non fit*. Now, in such cases, there seems good reason to believe that physiological laws express themselves. Changes proceeding in the brain, in harmony with Nature, afford results which partake of Nature's perfection; the more perfect because free from the bias or constraint imposed by deliberate effort. The fantastic dreams which ensue from the perverted action of the brain under stimulant or narcotic poisoning present a parallel but contrasted case. Sometimes in disease very singular results are manifested from this cause.

In some of the odd freaks, again, known as absence of mind, we see another illustration of unconscious action in the brain. There are two kinds of such absence: sometimes an intense activity of certain powers throws the other faculties into undue abeyance. Sir Isaac Newton forgot to eat; and Socrates is said to have stood motionless for a whole day and night. But sometimes the activity of these other faculties is in excess, and the absorbed attention seems to give an unrestrained liberty to processes which should be held in check. Thus it can certainly happen that an absent man may, quite unknowingly, and un-

fortunately, take up money not his own, if it lies before him, and transfer it to his own pocket, the stimulus of sight and habit not being balanced by the reflecting powers. Of like kind, too, are the instances in which dying men have enacted over again the parts they had been accustomed to play in life—the merchant counting up his books, the judge charging the jury.

But, in truth, the more closely we scrutinize our mental powers, and note the laws they follow, the more we are struck with the narrow limits within which our own action is restricted. To a large extent we are passive, and rather suffer our thoughts than think them. We may even more strictly be said to suffer than to do a large proportion of our own actions. Much of our life passes before us like a panorama, in which we are rather the most interested of spectators than the actors. And we find too that to a great extent an effort is required, and exerted, to control actions that would otherwise take place; to command quiescence rather than movement. The body is quick to respond to innumerable stimuli, operating upon it at all times and in every variety of mode; its pent-up force is ever ready to break forth, and does break forth, save as a regulating power is exerted upon it either by the will or the operation of the superior parts of the nervous system. We may take winking as an illustration. What an effort it demands to prevent our eyes from closing when an object threatens to come into contact with them. It seems, indeed, impossible to avoid the action beyond a certain nearness of approach, even when there is perfect confidence that no contact will ensue, and there is, therefore, no struggle of the will. Instances of this kind will illustrate the nature of the brain, and the part it plays in our experience. We may call the brain an instrument, but we must remember that it is itself active. Indeed, for this very reason it is a suitable instrument. Itself a part of Nature, with Nature's laws expressing themselves within it in constantly recurring activities, it lays for our consciousness exactly the basis that we need. We are thus brought, by its means, into relation with the material world in its highest and intensest form, and read off, as it were, in the form of thoughts, the culminating processes of life—itsself the crown and flower of all the physical developments of force. The brain presents Nature to our conscious part, and presents it worthily.

Again, the brain, united by means of the nerves with every portion of our bodily frames, and thus transmitting to every portion in its turn the stimulus which results from the actions that take place within it, renders the whole body the representative and exponent of the soul. Expressed to consciousness, on the one hand, in the form of emotion or of thought, these same actions in the brain, upon the other, penetrate, and mould by a

subtle alchemy, the most interior recesses of the body, and their effects proclaim themselves on lip or cheek, in eye or hand. Thus the subordination of the body to the mind is effected perfectly, and without care on our part; as, indeed, no care of ours could ever avail to maintain it through all the innumerable variations of the mental states.

And here the significance of the various "centres" or groups of cells which enter into the formation of the brain becomes apparent. Besides the actions which take place unconsciously within us, even those of which we are distinctly conscious are of different kinds. Some are immediately dependent upon sensations. The act of sneezing, for example, is one which no effort of the will can exactly reproduce; it follows directly upon a peculiar feeling, and demands for its production that the feeling should be of a certain intensity. Tears and laughter, when caused by physical sensations—by tickling or by pain—come under the same category. There is thus a whole class of actions that are dependent on sensation, and they have their own centre in the brain. At least, there is sufficient evidence to make it exceedingly probable that one of the swellings which are formed upon the fibres coming up from the spinal cord, and expanding outwards to the hemispheres, is this centre. Impressions on the nerves may reach this spot, and be at once reflected—that is, may excite a change in the cells collected there, and put into activity the nerves proceeding to certain groups of muscles, or to certain glands. When this is the case, we have an action dependent on, or at least connected with, sensation, and not involving any of the higher faculties, as thought or will.

In the tendency of the brain to give rise to actions of this class lies a chief source of the power of habit, and the fatal bondage under which the victim of habitual vice is laid, and so often piteously struggles. The chain between sensation and its consequent acts grows stronger with practice, and acquires ever new directions. It is thus that dipsomania grows on its victim, the taste, or even the mere sight, of drink becoming all-powerful, and bringing on the accustomed act while the will is almost asleep. And very far short of this utter wreck and ruin of the man, the predominance of the inferior portion of the brain may still be felt in various ways in the undue influence of sense. There is ever a tendency in us to suffer the immediate link of sensuous feeling with thought or action to anticipate or set aside the verdict of the nobler powers; and this tendency is no less visible in the intellectual than in the moral life of man, and vitiates belief no less than deeds. The demand upon our manhood ever is to counteract this facile connection between sensa-

tion and its natural consequents. The struggle which constitutes our life is thus forewritten on our brains.

The last and highest "centre" in the brain is the gray matter spread upon its surface, and embracing in its many folds the substance of the hemispheres. Here we approach the very throne of thought, but we recognize essentially the same relations that we have met with before. The final secret of will, however, is not to be read even here.

The modes of action of the nervous system may be classed under three heads—viz., the intellectual brain, the sensational brain and probable seat of instinct, and the spinal cord, or "automatic" brain. In endeavouring to trace the mutual influence of the brain and the other organs of the body, our great guide is found in the principle of the constancy of force. If we remember that an action once commenced, in the material world, does not cease, but goes on indefinitely producing equivalent effects, and that this law holds good as much in the living body as in the rest of Nature, the foundation of the mutual interaction, difficult though it may be to trace in all its details, becomes perfectly simple. The nervous system, indeed, may be regarded as a structure adapted for turning this law of Nature to account, and for employing on useful purposes the indestructible force that is ever circulating through the body. The nerves afford to it channels of least resistance, and conduct it where it will produce results that are needful for the animal, or at least—where no derangement is present—harmless. Thus the muscles carry off, and return into the world without, the force arising from the brain—changes which our conscious life involves. They are at once instruments of motion and safety-valves, sometimes one of these offices predominating, sometimes the other. Laughing is an evident instance of the latter use; walking may be either. Conversely, the nervous system takes up, and is thrown into action by, the force resulting from the innumerable changes which take place in the other organs.

If the influence which the brain thus exerts be prevented from travelling in one direction, it takes another. But it never fails. Thus it is that controlled emotion, or passion which finds no outward vent, is so powerful, and often so disastrous in its effects upon the health. The will has a certain power to direct the action through one or another set of nerves, but some equivalent action it cannot avert. Manifest or hidden, every mental state will have its full proportionate effect. The power of the brain over the vital condition of the body is exerted through a particular set of nerves, which have been called the "sympathetic system." These are somewhat smaller and simpler than the nerves of sensation and of motion, with which, however, they are intimately con-

nected. They are distributed to the organs on which life depends (the lungs, heart, stomach, &c.), and to the blood-vessels all over the body. Blushing is effected through their agency, and through them, too, the pallor which accompanies fear or anger. And in these instances we have revealed to us the main secret of the control exerted by the brain over all the vital processes. The condition of the blood-vessels everywhere, and especially in the most vital organs, is regulated from moment to moment by its changing moods. Even the vessels from which it draws its own supply are subject to the same influence, and it immediately controls the nutrition, not only of its servitors, but of its own substance.

Thus the condition of the brain is necessarily the key to that of the whole body; both directly by its power over the heart and the breathing, and still more profoundly by its indirect control over the supply of blood, its influence is universally paramount. There is no mystery in the effects produced on health by excess of mental labour, or by long-continued care, nor in the bodily torpor which attends a merely inactive mind. "Nervousness" naturally results from an over-taxed brain; it is an expression of its deranged circulation and imperfect nutrition. The wonder surely is, not that it occurs so often, but that, amid the rude shocks to which our life is subject, it is not more frequently experienced. The self-regulating power which preserves the balance true amid such a variety of circumstance might well excite our surprise. It is like that adapting power, possessed in its greatest degree by man alone of all the higher animals, by which all climates can be borne and all diets assimilated. And, if we could see aright, doubtless we should find that man exceeds other creatures as much in his power to bear safely mental changes as those of external circumstance. We might thus explain the frequent instances narrated of the death of animals separated from their fellows or their masters; their lower nature may be more difficult to rouse, but their brain succumbs more readily.

The intimate relations which must exist between the brain and the health of the whole body appear still more manifest if we take into account the relative amount of the activity that is concentrated within this single organ. In no other is the poise of the forces apparently so delicate or so easily disturbed, and in none, accordingly, is there anything like the same amount of change. Of the beautiful contrivances by which the supply of blood is regulated, and a channel furnished to guard against disturbing circumstances, we have not had time to speak; but the mere quantity of blood sent to the brain is highly significant. It has been variously estimated at from a fourth to a fifth of the

whole blood in the body; and the same tale of immense activity is told, not only by the phosphorus which exists in large measure in the nervous substance, and especially in the cells, but by the vast amount of waste of which evidence is given after mental labour. According to the best comparisons that have been made, the total bodily waste from this cause exceeds in amount that which attends an equal period of hard muscular exertion. From this it is easy to understand the ill effects of too protracted or exhausting mental toil.

But another lesson is equally taught by the same facts—a lesson of an opposite kind, indeed, yet resting on the same physiological basis, and warranted by an experience not less conclusive. If exhaustive labour of the brain overstrains the vessels, and consumes the vital energy at a greater rate than it can be replaced, the absence of its due use is no less certainly hurtful on the other side. The energies of every vital function receive a considerable and essential portion of their stimulus from the activity the brain is adapted to carry on. The torpid, unhealthy frame and languid circulation of the idiot are but an exaggerated instance of the unnatural torpor to which he condemns himself who wastes his life in indolence or consumes it in dissipation. If we would have our bodies healthy, our brains must be used, and used in orderly and vigorous ways, that the life-giving streams of force may flow from them into the expectant organs, which can minister but as they are ministered unto.

We admire the vigorous animal life of the Greeks, and with justice we recognize, and partly seek to imitate, the various gymnastic and other means which they employed to secure it. But we should make a fatal error if we omitted from our calculation the hearty and generous earnestness with which the highest subjects of art, speculation, and politics were pursued by them. Surely in their case it was a beautiful and energetic mental life which found expression in an athletic and graceful frame. And is it a mere extravagance to ask whether some part of the lassitude and weariness of life of which we hear so much in our day be not due to lack of mental occupation on worthy subjects, exciting and repaying a generous enthusiasm, as well as to an over-exercise on lower ones—whether an engrossment on matters which have not substance enough to justify or satisfy the mental grasp be not at the root of some part of the maladies which affect our mental convalescence? Any one who tries it soon finds out how wearying, how disproportionately exhausting, is an overdose of “light literature” compared with an equal amount of time spent on real work. Of this we may be sure, that the due exercise of brain—of thought—is one of the essential elements of human life.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. IX.—DEMOCRACY—WHITHER?

THERE is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune: our Democracy is fast approaching its flood-tide—will it lead on to fortune? Let this be my text. "Democracy?" cry the half-wakened Tories, "pooh! nonsense! No such thing. The Radicals use the term to frighten us;" and then, startled awhile by indistinct dreams of mob rule, Communal outbreaks, and red caps of Liberty, they slumber again with the gentle murmur of "British Constitution" on their lips. Are we a Democracy in good sooth or not? The most advanced Tories shun the pregnant term. It would seem in Tory mouths to have a disloyal smack, a Republican flavour, a suggestion of "Down with Crown and Peers and Constitution." The Liberal of to-day—ex-Radical of yesterday—to say nothing of the rampant Radical or thinly veiled Republican, gloats upon the word Democracy, and hugs it as a badge of victory. He never tires of thrusting the hated phrase in his opponent's faces; he flaunts it before them in season and out of season. Is there not much of British cant in all this? Your Briton and the fabled ostrich have much in common. Does he not, too, love to hide his head in the sand? Seventeen years have rolled by since the cunning Hebrew Minister stole the Liberal thunder while the Whigs dozed. *Sic vos non nobis vellera fertis oves*. Now it is the Tories that resolutely shut their eyes to facts. Long they fought against the inevitable. In vain they threw sops to the Liberal wolves that howled in their track. Reform Bills, so cunningly wrought that their Jew parent himself could not tell them from his own children; yet so flimsy that the first hungry Liberal snap let out the sawdust, and showed the dolls they were. And, after all, nothing would appease the many-headed but the whole truth and nothing but the truth. That truth was the British Democracy—yet more unpalatable to those who prepared the feast than to the greedy recipients. The British stomach for reform was sated, yet the shaft its own plume had fledged rankled in the Tory breast. Still it was feathered on one side only. A loophole was discovered for evasion. They cried, "It is only a make-believe, a toy for these doting Radicals. The county householders will never get the vote, the urban household suffrage will certainly disagree with John Bull, and all will be well again. In any case a Democracy is not complete." Poor ostriches! In truth the British Cerberus grew drowsy after his meal. The political doctors gathered around him. The Conservatives shook their heads sadly: "Too much Reform!" The Radicals whispered, at first gently, then hoarsely: "He is getting hungry, he wants

more." Beware, ye timid ostriches, lest ye stand in his way ; not even your long legs shall save you.

The rest is as dreary as a twice-told tale. To recapitulate :—Up to 1832 the so-called representative system had become farcical. Boroughs returned the candidate whose influence or bribes obtained the suffrages of a handful of electors—consisting generally of the mayor and council or a few freeholders—and counties were usually at the mercy of the local magnate. The smaller towns were generally pocket boroughs at the disposal of a great landowner, who either put in his own nominees or sold them to the highest bidder, while nearly all the large towns, newly grown into importance, returned no members at all. The representative system could scarcely by the most reckless exaggeration be termed popular ; and this, too, in a country where Britons prided themselves above all on their civil equality and popular rights. The electoral system was more properly aristocratic, and the Government practically oligarchic. Power was in the hands of a privileged few. 1867 brought the next reform, and a one-sided Democracy began. That is to say, before 1832, the power resided chiefly in the hands of the aristocracy ; up to 1867 with the middle classes, the shopkeepers, and farmers ; and thereafter the balance of power remained to the people, the wage-earning artisans of the towns. January, 1885, completed the scheme of Electoral Reform, and January, 1886, ushers into the world the most democratic Democracy that has ever been seen, wherein the power resides with the landless, wage-earning, working-men, who have nothing to gain by stability and order, everything to hope for from anarchy and revolution.

War has no terrors for this new-born Democracy. Conscription they laugh to scorn. Unlike French or German proletaires, foreign interference and foreign complications do not harm them. They make the laws, or at all events choose the men that make them—why should they consent to forced levies on their own numbers while they can lavish the nation's gold to purchase hirelings. Their nominees in Parliament are pledged to flourish the "Rights of Man" in the face of John Bull if he grows fractious ; and if he should feel his pockets anxiously they will talk to him of Socialism and International Brotherhood. Should he prate of national defence they terrify him by threats of military domination. The working classes have the power, and thanks to Messrs. Charlatan & Co., of Birmingham, and a Press too often corrupt, ignorant, or mercenary, they mean to exert it. John Bull grumbles at his growing Budget, and his army and navy, all too small for his growing needs. Too late ! Too late ! Had the aristocracy, when they were strong, imitated France and organized a national militia, England would not now be reduced to these straits. Again, the middle classes, when their turn came to rule, were

asked to organize a national army. But they had waxed fat and lazy, and were lulled to sleep easily in the long halcyon period by the syren voices of Peace Associations, &c., who told them the Golden Age had come again. Like well-to-do Armenian traders among the Kurds, they held out their gold to the spoiler, saying, "We will pay, but we cannot fight." It was then that Napoleon III. described us as a nation of shopkeepers. What next?

Can any sane person believe that an era of peace has set in at last, or that England, the successful wholesale trader and shipper of the world, is not as much, nay more, the object of international spite and envy than she ever was in the world's history? Her empire widens and lengthens apace. Her sons, filled with the spirit of the Norse Vikings, tread every shore and rifle resolutely the world's treasures. Her teeming populations stream over the entire globe. Wherever their footsteps fall colonies spring up, industries flourish, and England's responsibilities daily and hourly increase unbidden. Her empire spreads unsought, she can no more set a limit to its growth than bid the rising tide be still. Yet what do we see? An army so small and ill-equipped that the slightest strain breaks it down. An army whose resources are exhausted by a colonial outbreak or a tribal insurrection. Expensive beyond comparison, yet minute beyond all proportions. There can be no doubt that her army debars England from exerting any sensible weight in European councils or enforcing her national will. Nevertheless no hope of improvement can be looked for. The national expenditure is already colossal; and the new Democracy, reckless through ignorance, or ignorant through recklessness, resolutely oppose any increase for national defences. Still less can they be expected to consent to a truly national and patriotic army of citizens, by which alone an efficient force, proportioned to our Imperial needs, without undue expenditure, can be provided. They are ready enough to vote away public money for thinly veiled class purposes; but to compel the freeborn Briton to join the ranks of a national army in defence of hearth and home would be a monstrous anomaly, a reversal of our glorious history and a presage of national decay. To force the freeborn Briton to swallow the Government brand of Education wholesale—nay, to impose on the unwilling Briton the form, shape, and quality of the education to which he must submit and contribute pecuniarily under dire penalties, seems a trifling stretch of paternal authority on the part of the State. The Radicals go farther and call it an imperative duty. Impelled, as they would say, by the force of Liberal opinion and desire for justice, but really by the proletariat who clamour for class legislation, by which the taxpayers shall be forced to provide a free education for them, they openly proclaim their intention to compel the taxpayers to provide a complete and absolutely unpaid education for the people.

Strangely enough the American Democracy, proceeding upon the same lines of opinion, and adopting the same views as our Radicals nominally profess, arrive at an opposite conclusion. The United States of America certainly provides a free education in many States, but that only of the most elementary description, and to such as are unable to pay school fees. They consider very properly, firstly, that compulsory education or any restriction placed upon the quality or stamp of national education would be a monstrous infringement of the liberty of the individual, and little short of State tyranny ; secondly, that to deprive forcibly a parent of filial support by compelling children to attend school whether required at home or not would be a breach of family ties, an infringement of parental rights, and involve State meddling in its most arbitrary and pernicious form ; and thirdly, that to devote a share of the manhood of the country to the purposes of national defence is the plainest duty of society, and the most obvious obligation of a free people towards a freely elected and representative government.

Ours is a landless Democracy. Those of Switzerland, France, America, Belgium, are based on a property-owning electorate, from which they derive their stability and security. Slavery was the ground-plan of the popular political systems in the old world ; in the modern they have been exclusively landed. The majority of the electors of Belgium, of Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and America are either peasant proprietors, or citizens owning houses, or possessing movable property which revolution or anarchy would jeopardize and which they consequently fear to lose. Coupled with the lodger and service franchise, ours is a residential electorate ; that is, not one which possesses land or valuable chattels, but simply one which is lodged in some sort ; or, in a word, it is the wide stratum which overlies—to use a geologic term—that homeless and struggling poverty which forms the border-land between hand-to-mouth unskilled labour and acknowledged pauperism, insensibly blending off into the criminal classes. These three lower strata constitute elements of danger to all civilized communities. They are the ranks from which, under pressure of national distress or commercial depression, the ferocious bands are recruited that man the barricades of Paris, and carry out the desperate insurrections of Spain, Italy, and Austria. Statistics plainly show that the greater number of the 5,000,000 which will constitute the electorate of January, 1886, will be composed of such as depend in great measure on good trade for regular work. Having the wolf always at the door, they will naturally grasp at every shadow, and snap eagerly at every bait held out by reckless demagogues. Every political quackery, every exploded economic fiction, is swallowed wholesale. No flattery is too transparent, no trick too stale. As in the old

assemblies of Athens, the loud-voiced Cleons, the wily self-seeking politicians, who gain popular confidence by adulation and reckless falsehood, will they not again hold sway? Is not such a Democracy "the hour" of the demagogues? They will ride on the people's backs to power: and stir up the covetous passions that serve to swell their sails. They will tell them of the good old simple plan "that they should hold who've got the power, and they should get who can,"—for their modes and arts are various, but are always set to the same old tune. They ingratiate themselves by lies and flattery; they tell them of their power and bid them use it. They say, "Make me strong and I will right you, I will redress all your wrongs;" and when they are lifted into the high places and are seated firmly in power, they kick down the ladder by which they mounted.

Such at least are the lessons from history: what are the indications that history is not repeating itself? What efficient counterpoise can be devised or hoped for? Is the education of our governing majority one which would inspire confidence or appear to offer an effective barrier to so great a danger? The most sanguine politician can scarcely venture to answer this question in the affirmative. It used to be said that much reliance could be placed on the Conservative spirit that animated our masses—on the sound sense of the national mind. In this connection there are signs of the times that cannot be overlooked. Men seem to forget that the balance of power has shifted, slowly but surely, lower and lower down. When an educated majority governed, Spirit and Mind prevailed. Since 1867 the National Stomach seems to have ruled absolute.

But lately a British Minister—to our national shame be it said—has dared to openly urge the working classes, our future rulers, to exert their tyranny to the bitter end over their quondam political masters. And almost untaxed as they now are, he bade them thrust more burdens yet on those whom they may now depose and defy, who, he told them, had hitherto crushed and robbed them of their heritage of power. "Turn and rend them,"—he virtually cried,—"every dog has his day." He plainly told them, as the Socialists and Nihilists do now in Russia, France, and Germany, and as Jack Straw did of old, that inequality is caused by the tyranny of the rich, who govern for their own selfish ends; and he bade them tell the wealthy classes by whom they have been disinherited that they must pay high for their immunity. In substance this means, "You may rob the rich if you choose and step into their shoes—at all events, the least you should do is to levy black-mail upon them by forcing them to pay dearly for their security from your attacks." Is this an appeal to sense or appetite, to brain or stomach? To those who have read the varied appeals made during the last few

months to our new political masters, this question may be put with some force. The Radicals ignore all else but stomach in the coming Democracy—are they right? There's the rub. John Bull used not to be a pugnacious animal. Unlike the Gallic Cock, he chewed the cud of self-complacent isolation, and, save for honour at stake or for direct commercial gain, he seldom drew the sword with national applause. State cabals, diplomatic intrigues, forced his hand from time to time; but national enthusiasm was rarely awakened for any but a war with our traditional enemy, France. The Jingo spirit, which must surely be a motion of the appetite rather than the brain, is a purely modern manifestation. The Quixotic anxiety to support the Sick Man against the overweening Russian, to fix a quarrel upon the Emir of Afghanistan, has no parallel except in the wars with France. We rush wildly into an Egyptian campaign with something very like enthusiasm, in the worst of all possible causes, as if we craved to show France how to fight her battles, and bettered her example without profiting by her Tunisian experience.

Whence can the new Democracy gather knowledge? Not from a corrupt Press, whose writers, oftenest as ignorant as themselves, except for a smattering of political slang or party "cant," and a certain easy fluency begotten of constant practice, seek only to tickle the ears of the groundlings by a parrot-like iteration of whatever shreds of political gossip seem most acceptable to their readers, served up with varied flavourings, and a sauce of home-made pseudo-philosophy. Not from the paid party organs, whose opinions and whose advocacy of the political wares they sell command as much weight as the grocer's advertisements, or the poetic encomiums of the patent medicine vendor. Not, again, certainly from the cheap trash which invades so largely our bookstalls, and which, so far as quality and purpose can vouch for results, must deprave the national morals to low standards and aspirations. But some will object: "Would you put down the free Press which we have always held to be the most precious bulwark of our liberties?" Certainly not. Nor is any sweeping and indiscriminate censure here intended of either politicians or pressmen of any party or section of opinion. The English Press as a whole, and more especially as including its past history, has not abused the liberty which makes its power so serious a responsibility. Nevertheless, the blessings of a free Press are, to use newspaper slang, admittedly far from unalloyed. A sense of responsibility must sometimes be absent from its utterances if its honesty be unquestionable. Besides, when has not the true teacher, the wise leader of the fickle and impetuous crowd, needed to be a hero, prepared to find angry response to unpalatable wisdom, and to suffer for his honesty? Hence the Press of a young Democracy is always venal if not bad. It can only

reflect the pains and pleasures, the throes and passions, of the public by whom it subsists. Demand and supply principally govern its produce just as in any other market. The increase of illiterate electors burning for political ideas stimulates a crop of newspaper garbage suited to rank tastes and mean aspirations. Why should money be lost over an educated staff or popularity be risked by honesty for the political delectation of artisans, who can be reached by the vulgarest arts, and decoyed by the simplest lies. The coarser the net, the heavier the haul. Assurance, flippancy, and flattery are the chief ingredients. A lively imagination and an elastic conscience do the rest.

In the new republics of America, North and South, no pretence of public opinion is made. Newspapers solely represent and are the mere paid agents of political parties chiefly devoted to purely personal spite and rancorous invective, without any affectation of abstract research whatsoever. The British penny-a-liner is far more insidious and dangerous to the national conscience, since he almost invariably affects an external decorum, a high standard of morality, and makes earnest profession of sincere truth-seeking, from behind which he can shoot his venal shafts with all the confidence of an impartial friend. Since 1867 our new-fledged Democracy has been persistently pelted with literary garbage presumably suited to its capacity. Every year brings forth new crops, each ranker and fouler than the last. Personalities are now as rife as in the United States, and all classes alike revel in the social offal dished up and flavoured to their respective tastes. All that is high and good and respectable is criticized, carped at, and caricatured. All that should be secret and private is dragged into the open light of day to sate the prurient and ever-increasing public appetite. Interviewing affords a new pretext for imparting Transatlantic vulgarity into British journalism, and creates an inane inquisitiveness which must react injuriously on the national mind and morals. Scarce had the new electors attained their franchise, than the journalistic spiders had already set their myriad webs and prepared their ingenious toils to decoy them into their several party meshes. The political associations are straining every nerve to allure and entice them. Like cunning chapmen, they find out the peculiar wants and fancies of the agricultural labourer, and tempt him with their political wares. Would he like land, they will provide him. Does he desire wealth, it shall be his forthwith. Does the thralldom of squire or parson press heavy on him, rents and tithes shall be abolished. Many writers have frequently adverted to the need of our new political masters being educated, so as, on the one hand, to enable them to resist the seductions of the partisan writer and demagogue, and, on the other, to prevent their being intoxicated with their new-found power and so misuse it. The Optimists cry: "See, they scarce

feel their power; so far from misusing their power they do not know they have it. So far from being misled by the cheap wisdom of the penny papers, and entangled by the wily demagogues, they keep strangely aloof and go their ways as of yore."

The national mind is slow to move. The Briton is calm and deliberate. Unlike the lively Gaul, he grasps new ideas with difficulty and distrusts innovation. What of the national stomach? Heaven send the Radicals guess not aright when they pretend to appeal to the national mind while they studiously pamper the national appetite. The seat of power has fallen lower. An ominous sound surely! The solution of the enigma seems to be that the grave fears entertained with regard to the uneducated condition of our political masters in 1867 were groundless, for the simple reason that the average new-made elector was wholly unable (1) to grasp his new situation; (2) to inform himself of his political potentialities; (3) to be misled or demoralized by the snares of scheming associations, pamphleteers, and party scribblers, for the simple reason that the majority were neither able to read nor comprehend them. *Salus populi summa ignorantia*, to paraphrase the axiom of old Rome. They plodded on as before, neither coveting power nor desirous to misuse it. They had long learnt to trust their natural leaders and intellectual superiors, and neither cared nor wished to unlearn their lesson. The arts of the mob-orator fell flat on their ears; for he promised too much. Lacking the imagination of the Celt, or the enthusiasm of the Gaul, they marked him not. Thanks to the very danger so much dreaded and deplored, the British Democrat went through the fire unscathed, and our Constitution still stands unshaken by near twenty years of Democracy.

Unshaken! Stormed by Radical chimeras, pelted by reckless pamphleteers, assaulted of old by Royal Prerogative, later overborne by Parliamentary Privilege, the British Constitution would seem, like the fabled hero of classic story, to gather new force by every crushing fall. Elastic and expansive, now dwindling under pressure, now looming large and heavy with its fair burden of popular liberties, like a giant tree with roots deep-seated in the soil of British independence, her vitality is ever green, her tenacity seems to defy disruption. Who can foretell her future? If we listen to the Radicals her noblest branches must be ruthlessly lopped; her fruit is small and puny as the acorn; she must be grafted with Continental or Transatlantic Democracy that she may bear fruits as rank and luxurious as they. Let them beware lest the experience of Isaac Newton should befall us, and we find ourselves crushed by the heavy fruits we have so painfully acquired.

The neo-Liberals of to-day have made the abolition of the

Peers a foremost plank in their platform. It is a matter of doubt whether a majority of Liberals favour the design. Partaking rather of the nature of a threat than a national political measure, it would at first sight appear to be a mere passing thunder-cloud, such as gather from time to time from popular passions and the friction of party strife, and are as quickly dissipated when better counsel and calmer moods prevail. The vague chronic distrust or dissatisfaction that points to a lurking feeling in the British mind that the Upper House falls somewhat short of ideal perfection, at stated periods waxes acute. Popular feeling runs high against the opposing barrier to the popular will. The Commons are brought into violent collision with the Peers ; and the cry is impatiently raised by the thoughtless and unreflecting, "Away with the House of Lords !" So cried the Athenians against the Boule ; and later against the Areopagus. So raged the Roman plebs against the Senate ; so Cromwell in 1649 ; so the French National Assembly in 1789. In 1832 to swamp the House of Lords had become the popular cry when the Peers refused twice to pass a Reform loudly and justly demanded by the Commons and people of England. Again in 1884, Mr. Gladstone wrought up to fever-heat the popular indignation that Lord Salisbury's organized resistance to the Agricultural Franchise Bill had needlessly evoked. In 1832 the tardy capitulation of the Peers was succeeded by a period of complete amnesty—the storm had burst over their heads and the sky once more grew clear. The subsequent history of the Peers for fifty years attests their unimpaired influence. The nation had taken them once more to her confiding bosom. How fares it with them now ? The cry has but an instant subsided, the waves are freshly quelled. Still the feeling prevails in Liberal circles, and has been formally relegated to the sphere of political resolve. Amend them or end them, which is it to be ? That is the question.

Abolition of the Peers is no longer the war-cry of political ignorance and recklessness, which, like the shriek of the sea-bird, is heard high above the wail of the rising tempest ; it is the deliberately expressed avowal of cultivated if advanced opinion, to which men of the highest culture like Mr. Morley and others of similar degree have committed themselves. Hence its peculiar significance. It can hardly be supposed that such men as these can be deaf to the teachings of history, that they are not thoroughly aware of the hazardous nature of the experiment they advocate. They must full well know that scarcely any example can be found in the world's history of aught but failure where a Second Chamber has been dispensed with. Certainly no successful instance can be cited where a single democratic assembly has governed an ancient monarchy with effect. How then can reason, experience, or tradition sanction its adoption in

a country where of all others safeguards and checks are most required ; where the Crown, reduced to a shadow, has preserved the bare symbol of executive power ; and where over-population and an ancient class hierarchy of unbroken descent has developed a complexity of relations which the slightest breath of revolution would plunge into the deepest misery or wildest anarchy, together with a system of credit on which our commercial stability depends, so easily disturbed ; so airy a fabric that no gossamer web can more easily be swept away ?

There are two schools of opinion among those who would end, not amend, the House of Lords. Broadly stated, one party base their grounds for abolition on its intrinsic weakness and futility, arguing with some force that the Peers have invariably submitted in the end to the decrees of the Commons and the expression of the national will, and that, therefore, they may as well be dispensed with altogether. Others rage against them because they thwart the national will by refusing to ratify the measures that have passed through the Lower House—a singular instance of how history is made to serve a double purpose, and, Janus-like, presents a varied face to each beholder. The view most consonant with truth and historical evidence seems to consist in a fusion of all these opinions.

Clearly, the Peers generally gave in at last, after holding out as long as they dared, in the early days of reform ; for the plain reason that they were fighting for their own most cherished and valued privileges—pocket boroughs, electoral control, &c. &c.—while of late, despoiled of their illicit benefits, they have generally fought upon the impartial ground of national advantage, from the standpoint of lofty superiority, which a sense of complete independence can alone confer. Granted, therefore, that reason, experience, and tradition all point to the absolute necessity—a necessity more imperious still in view of our ancient and complex civilization—of providing a strong and effective barrier to the violence of a popular and thoroughly Democratic assembly, elected by a landless and possibly turbulent majority of electors, impatient for innovation and chafing against constitutional restraints, is it not obviously urgent to strengthen this barrier in the highest degree that may appear compatible with the balance of constitutional power ? We are suddenly increasing the pressure to an enormous and almost unascertainable extent ;—will the constitutional Machinery bear the unused strain ? Must not new checks, new governors, new escape-pipes be devised ? Should not every joint, every bolt and rivet be carefully watched, that the bearings may not be unduly heated by the abnormal friction ? What would be said of the engineer who would argue as so many Liberals have virtually done in this connection—who would contend that the ship's boiler, with

defective plates, must be sent to sea with a strong head of steam; or the machinist who would refuse to admit the necessity of new adjustments and balances, when an unusual strain is brought suddenly to bear upon an antiquated piece of machinery? Would he not rather strengthen the weak points of the disabled gearing, and scrupulously rivet or renew the plates of the boiler afresh? One step further. How, if the machinist were to aver that the gearing was so rotten from age that it had better be dispensed with altogether; or that the boiler plates were so thin and worn that the safety-valve might just as well be done away with, as all precautions to prevent explosion under pressure would certainly be fruitless? Would not public opinion relegate such a man to a lunatic asylum? This would seem to be no highly coloured or distorted illustration of the case in point.

The State machine requires new strength to resist the unknown forces of the new Democracy. Where will the greatest strain probably be felt? Not, indeed, with the Commons, teeming with the fresh vigour of their new-found and all but irresistible forces, nor yet with the Crown, pruned of its ancient prerogatives, no longer capable of exciting popular jealousy or ill-will, subsisting on national tolerance and conservative feeling, but, above all, strongly enthroned in the national heart. The Lords alone enjoy an anomalous position. Uncertain of the entire confidence of the people, they fear to exercise freely and boldly rights which are secured to them by the strongest constitutional sanction. They tremble to place themselves in antagonism to the popular House, and yet, by the very nature of their semi-judicial position, are frequently forced into direct opposition to the national will. Hemmed in at such times by the revilings of a hireling Press on one hand, the threats and denunciations of virulent and unscrupulous demagogues on the other, they see before them no alternative but retreat, or the ignominious Caudine passage of fresh peerage creations, while unpitied Tribunes dangle over their heads the Damoclean sword of abolition.

Let us turn to America, the great and successful Republic that overshadows the ancient monarchies of Europe, with its vast resources, its immeasurable future, its illimitable expansive forces. She has placed her Constitution, property, personal liberty and State rights under guarantees that defy all subversion. Only a revolution could affect the basis of security upon which they rest. The complicated checks provided against a possible popular wave dashing against the groundwork of their Constitution effectually prevent any sudden or ill-timed change. The model Republic has found it needful to rest its popular institutions on a base so solid and impregnable that only a revolutionary rising could sweep

them away. Remove the House of Lords from our legislative Trinity, and our Parliament might easily rival in turbulence and recklessness the French Convention of bloodstained memory. With a violent Radical at the head of an inflamed and class-hating majority, it is conceivable that a dozen organic measures might sap the foundations of our popular liberties, and destroy every vestige of our ancient constitution.

The inevitable conclusion to which thoughtful and prudent minds must be carried, points to the necessity of strengthening, not weakening, the House of Lords. The Lords should so completely possess the confidence and esteem of the people, that, as in ancient Rome, they be enabled to carry out the dictates of reason and conscience, regardless of party strife or party emoluments. Raised high above the atmosphere of faction, strong in the absolute security of their position, the British Senate should point out the national path, like a giant lighthouse reared on a sea-girt rock, spurning the tempest's roar and the beating surf. Such a Senate once guided the destinies of the Roman Empire, and far into the decay of her Imperial fortunes steered the bark of State through the fierce Democracy that thirsted for anarchy and irresponsible power. Can Mr. Gladstone's agrarian laws in Ireland be compared with the laws of C. Licinius, or the later agitation of the Gracchi? Yet the Roman Senate for years stemmed the tide of popular passion, and refused to sanction a Bill far less subversive or confiscatory than the Irish Land Bill. The Roman Senate included every man of high character who ever held high office in the State; wielding, therefore, a double power; embodying all tried administrative capacity as well as the entire force of hereditary influence.

Each American Senator represents in his own person a sovereign State, as powerful and populous as a German State of the old Imperial Diet. The British Peer is at a fatal disadvantage when the rights of property are attacked; for he represents, in the popular eye, not an assemblage of property owners, but the actual ownership of large property. Dragged under the strong light of public opinion into forcible contrast with the "Great Disinherited," who constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation, he is placed in the invidious position of one who fights for selfish class interests in opposition to the general welfare. The result is obviously disastrous. The hands of the Peers are tied, their voice hushed, precisely where their influence is most needed. A landless Democracy who learn to command a majority in the popular assembly will soon be tempted to try, by fair means or foul, to regain the land which the Radicals plainly tell them is their *Lost Inheritance*. The Peers scarce dared to raise their voices when the Irish Bill forced the cloven foot of State Socialism into their innermost sanctuary.

Will they dare to speak when the rude Democracy, flogged by Radical squalls rage and roar around them? Who shall venture to answer in the affirmative with the chronicles of the past before his eyes?

The Lords must be strengthened, but how? They need concentration. No strong Senate has been large; no large Senate has been strong. We have elements that other countries have destroyed and now lament in vain. The Republics of the New World despair of inventing a substitute for our aristocracy—respected, yet beloved, powerful, yet Democratic—out of which to build up a similar edifice to the House of Lords. We have the best materials the world affords. The old constitutional fortress is crumbling with age. Let us rebuild it, and make it a truly national stronghold, like the Roman Senate, that shall stand forth a tower of strength, a beacon to the nations from out the Democratic flood. Other nations keenly regret their inability to form a strong and solid Senate, and seek in vain for a nucleus of ready-made hereditary prestige and influence, such as we have ready to hand. Yet, many of us would cast away what has been the gradual work of ages, and nothing of art or legislation can possibly renew. *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* Heaven grant no such mad counsels prevail!

Reform need not come from without. The Peers can be trusted to strengthen in reforming, or reform in strengthening, themselves. Practically, the real work of the Upper House is done by a mere fraction of the entire body. If fifty Peers, conspicuous among their numbers for integrity, prudence, judicial skill and administrative capacity—in a word, who possess the confidence of the nation, were eliminated by the votes of their Peers; or, if fifty out of the 520 were to hold the proxies of ten or twelve supporters who were willing to constitute that nominee to be their mouthpiece in the National Council; if a certain proportion of Life Peers or Senators were added from what had proved to be most worthy and able in the country's service; and, if to these were added distinguished members of all the representative or self-governing Colonies, who should be considered fit to represent their fellow-colonists in the Imperial Senate, an era of new life and strength to the State might be inaugurated, new vitality would be infused into a decaying institution, without any revolutionary interruption or violent change which could materially shake the stability of the Constitution.

CHARLES WELD BLUNDELL.

Science Notices.

The Prime Meridian.—It is satisfactory to note in these days of political toil and trouble that science has inflicted a severe blow upon international jealousies at the Conference of Rome. Delegates from all civilized countries met in the Eternal City to endeavour to come to an agreement with each other upon the great question of a prime or single meridian for the whole world. The French representatives, loath as ever to bow to English supremacy, pleaded hard for a neutral line that should pass through the Azores or Behring's Straits. The Canadians proposed the ante-meridian of Greenwich. It was hardly required to be pointed out by Sir William Thompson, backed by the German delegates, that the Greenwich meridian is, for all practical purposes, the prime meridian of the world. The shipping of England, with its 40,000 vessels, amounting to no less than 9,000,000 tons burden, its 370,000 sailors, surpasses in importance that of all the other nations together. Its charts are in use in every country of the world, except in France, its ships throng every port, 90 per cent. of the carrying trade of the world is in its hands. With these facts before them, the Conference could not fail to come to the decision that the meridian of Greenwich should henceforth be the prime meridian from which all longitudes be reckoned. The resolution was carried by twenty-two votes to one (St. Domingo). The French delegates abstained from voting. Our old friend the *Nautical Almanack* will not require any change, and will be invested with an international character. The French publication, *La Connaissance des Temps*, will require serious modifications.

The Universal Day.—As a natural consequence of the single meridian, the question of the universal day was brought up. The Congress of Washington has decided that the mean solar time at Greenwich be adopted as the standard of time. It seems a pity that the old method of reckoning has been departed from. One o'clock in future is to be understood as the hour after midnight, and our afternoons will be distinguished by the awkward figures of 13, 14, 15, &c., o'clock. Had these troublesome numbers been relegated to the night hours, society would have been more ready to welcome the change. There can be little doubt that the universal day will prove of great benefit to railway employés and men of business. In America the Greenwich time has already been adopted to the great satisfaction of the people. The confusion of the old system, especially in the railway traffic, can be readily imagined. In the early part of the year 1883 there were fifty-three standards of time in use on the railroads and by the people of the United States and Canada. In numerous instances the strain upon the officials must have been excessive, even upon that overworked body of men, there being no less than three hundred points where rail-

roads, using different standards of time, crossed each other and exchanged traffic. The warmest advocates of the reform in standard time were inclined to look upon the question as well-nigh hopeless, and yet on November 18, 1883, the American people showed their large-mindedness and business-like ways by adopting standard time upon all the railways of the States. On that day the clocks of about twenty thousand railway stations and the watches of three hundred thousand railway officials were reset. So perfect were the preparations that not a single accident at any point is recorded as having been effected by the change. Such an example of mutual action and the sinking of local jealousies is as admirable as it is rare in the history of the nineteenth century.

The Mosaic Cosmogony.—M. Faye, the President of the *Bureau des Longitudes*, and one of the most distinguished astronomers of the age, has lately been reviewing Laplace's Nebular Hypothesis. Laplace was unfortunate in his theory; it was propounded before our two outermost planets were discovered. Science in his day knew of only one revolution of the planets—that is, from West to East; from Mercury to Saturn all the planets revolve round their sun from West to East; each moon revolved round his primary from West to East; each planet revolved on his axis from West to East. It was then in Laplace's day a very natural inference to draw that all planets *must* revolve from West to East; Laplace even went so far as to lay it down that the probabilities were a million to one that if any fresh planets were discovered in our system, they would be also found to revolve from West to East. The *one*, however, turned up, in point of fact. Uranus was sighted, and soon found to revolve on its axis from East to West. Neptune was added to the system, and it too revolved on its axis from East to West. The whole groundwork of the brilliant Nebular Hypothesis thus crumbled away.

We are not at present concerned with M. Faye's nebular theory, nor have we space at command to explain the highly ingenious manner in which the French astronomer explains the whole difficulty. But, incidentally, in the course of his explanations, the author has occasion to refer to the Mosaic Cosmogony. The creation of the sun and moon on the fourth day, in the account of the first chapter of Genesis, has given rise to many flippant and shallow remarks from our infidel writers. They ask how is it possible for the light to have appeared on the first day, when there was neither sun nor moon to impart it? Christian apologists have taken up the matter and suggested that the creation of the sun on the fourth day refers only to the appearance of the sun. They are ready to grant that light is inseparable from the sun, but contend that the sun might have been created on the first day, that its face was hidden from the earth until the fourth day, owing to the mists and exhalations that must have arisen in dense clouds from the cooling earth. If M. Faye's hypothesis be true, there is no need to resort to so awkward a defence. He brings evidence to show that the sun must be the youngest, the

last in point of creation of its own system—as far as Saturn inclusively—Uranus and Neptune were fashioned after the sun, but the earth is more ancient than the globe that gives us light and heat. The creation then of the sun on the fourth day, far from proving an awkward problem of exegesis, becomes another instance of science offering its homage to religion. Nor is there any difficulty in showing how light could burst upon the earth before our luminary existed. Every one is perfectly aware, when two bodies meet with sudden shock, the *vis viva* is changed into another form of energy—fire and heat. The meteorites that dash through our atmosphere create trains of flame and fire. Even compressed air will light touchwood. It is easy then to conceive that when the chaotic mass of the first day of creation was put into movement, shocks, collisions and friction must at once have been set up, and give rise to heat that would increase with the frequency and intensity of such forces. The temperature thus raised would radiate a feeble light, which the condensing masses would reflect from one another. “And there was light,” diffused, glimmering and nascent, penetrating the whole of stellar space.

The Satellite of Venus.—Seven times since the discovery of the telescope has a little companion to Venus been sighted, on most occasions imitating the phase of its primary. But these appearances have been so transitory—one hour is stated to have been the longest in duration—that astronomers are not at all agreed that we have discovered one of our neighbour's moons. It has been suggested that the body in question may be one of the host of asteroids that circulate between Jupiter and Mars. M. Houzeau has started an ingenious theory that the satellite may have emancipated itself from the attraction of Venus, and fallen into the clutches of the sun, and revolves now in an orbit as dignified as its planet. He proposes to name the mysterious body *Neith*, after the goddess at Sais, “whose veil no mortal hath removed.” He calculates that Venus and Neith come into conjunction once in every 2·96 years. A much more satisfactory solution of the problem has been offered by Fr. Thirion, S.J., in the *Revue des Questions scientifiques*, who classes the phenomenon under the same head as the “Mock Suns.” It is not a common thing to witness these “parhelias” as they are termed, but they are perfectly well known to astronomers and meteorologists. In the same way as the rainbow is formed by the refraction of the solar rays through minute drops of water, so these mock suns are formed by the reflection of the same rays from the minute prisms of ice, which we know are frequently present in the upper regions of the air. These effects, which can be produced by the light of the moon equally well, may fairly be conceded to the very brilliant rays that have made our morning and evening star so interesting and striking a neighbour. If Father Thirion can only satisfy the mathematicians that the thing is possible, science will be much indebted to him for his simple and brilliant hypothesis.

The Miocene Man.—It is well known that the Abbé Bourgeois

of Thenay discovered some flints in a Miocene deposit, which he believed bore the marks of human workmanship. Whilst scientists are not all agreed as to the existence of man in Pleistocene times, it was somewhat startling to hear the untold ages of the Miocene times attributed to us. The good Abbé's theory met with a very cold reception, and it was felt that something much more substantial in the way of proof must be brought forward before so bold a theory could be entertained. Last year the French Anthropological Congress assembled at Blois, and naturally Abbé Bourgeois' Miocene flints received prominent attention. One of the pretty parts of the theory was that this Miocene man lived on the shores of a lake. He had not yet discovered how to give a blow to his flints, but he could make a fire, heat the flints and break them into flakes by plunging them into the lake. But it was of course important to establish whether the formation in which the flints were found was, in point of fact, a shore at all. The result of the discussion left the matter very doubtful: the stratification is that of a marsh or lake, and Miocene man must have been put to unpleasant shifts in order to light his fire under such conditions. As to the flints themselves we see in them no indication of human handicraft. The flakes have not the "bulb of percussion" that is almost invariably present in the manufactured flint. No chipped flint could be found at the time of the meeting, and those discovered by the Abbé himself present marks so slight that it requires a very robust faith to detect the work of man therein. In spite, however, of the weakness and insufficiency of the data, M. Chantre, the President of the Conference, did not shrink from affirming his belief in Miocene man, while forced to admit that the proofs were not satisfactory.

M. Arcelin, the distinguished Belgian anthropologist, has reviewed the whole discussion, and has some very telling criticisms to offer. He is well acquainted with an argillaceous silex, that of Mâcon, of the same age and composition as that of Thenay. He has collected on every level of the formation split flints, some of which bear the bulb of percussion and even the chipping, which would be certainly attributed to man had they been discovered in quaternary formations. These flints, similar to those of Thenay, are found by thousands in the argillaceous deposit. These are facts worth considering, and M. Arcelin does not hesitate to affirm that the splitting and chipping of flints are the regular accompaniments of the changes produced in Miocene times.

An Electric Tramcar.—Again we have to report a successful attempt to apply the secondary batteries to the propulsion of tramcars. The Electric Power Storage Company is the enterprising firm that seems to have successfully solved the problem so often attempted of late years. The experiment has been carried out at Millwall, under the superintendence of Mr. Reckenzaun. Under the seat of an ordinary tramcar are laid a series of rollers, and on these run trays carrying a number of secondary batteries. But there is no need to dwell upon the description of the apparatus. There is at present but

one method of electric movement, and that is by switching the current from the batteries on to the motor. The thing is simple and feasible, the whole difficulty turns upon the action of the batteries. A steady, even flow of the current on the part of these batteries is all that is wanted to make the thing a decided success. On the experimental line in Millwall the car took a difficult gradient of 1 in 40 with ease; it only remains to be seen how it will behave on the public roads. The batteries will last for two hours without recharging, and the manager boasts that he can get on to the axle 33 per cent. of the engine power employed to charge the cells. The new system has the approval of the Board of Trade, but the local authorities are much more difficult to deal with, and some time, it is to be feared, will elapse before these new cars can be thrown open to the public.

Meteorology—The Weather Forecasts.—Great dissatisfaction is expressed in many quarters at the very meagre results achieved by the Meteorological Office. The daily weather forecasts, published in all the papers, represent a very large expenditure of money and labour, but it is generally felt that very little value can be attached to such warnings, and the benefit to the shipping world from the publication of the forecasts has been very slight. It would be well, however, to obtain some more reliable data than mere guesses and general impressions, and the "Office" naturally feels rather aggrieved at the vagueness of the charges directed against it.

Mr. John Staniforth, in *Knowledge* of Jan. 16, 1885, has been at the trouble to collect and test every prediction for the last two years, and his calculations are of decided interest:—

The Wind.—Its Direction.—In 1883, 300 predictions as to the direction of the wind was by the Office, and of these 66 per cent. were quite correct, 24 per cent. were doubtful, and 10 per cent. were wrong. In 1884 there were 301 predictions; of these 72 per cent. were correct, 18 per cent. were doubtful, and 10 per cent. were wrong. In this respect then the Office may claim a decided success.

The Force of the Wind.—291 times the force of the wind was predicted in 1884; 52 per cent. were correct, 31 per cent. doubtful, and 17 per cent. incorrect. The figures for 1883 were respectively 60 per cent., 25 per cent., and 15 per cent. The Department is evidently rather weak in the matter of the wind force.

The State of the Weather.—In 1884 there were made 312 predictions of the state of the weather, "rainy," "changeable," "unsettled," "fine," &c. Of these, 54 per cent. were correct, 26 doubtful, and 18 per cent. quite wrong. For 1883 the figures were precisely the same.

With such definite figures before us—and the two years are very similar in their results—we may conclude that the forecasts of the direction of the wind may be fairly trusted; of its force we must still remain doubtful; while, as regards the state of the weather, the chances are even that the warning will turn out correct.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Masai Land and the "Mount Olympus of Ethiopia."*—Mr. Thomson's explorations, conducted on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society, led him through a region hitherto little traversed by travellers and traders. Its inhabitants, the Masai warriors, are the terror and scourge of Eastern Africa, which is desolated by their forays from the water-shed of the Victoria Nyanza to the coast. Mr. Thomson, in attempting to penetrate their country with an insufficient force, had to beat a hasty retreat, and only saved himself and party from an impending massacre by decamping secretly during the night. He was finally enabled to enter the country by joining a caravan of traders from the coast, too strong in numbers and armament to be lightly attacked. The Masai tribes appear to resemble the Zulus in their manners and characteristics, whether ethnologically related to them or not. They are divided into El-Morua, or married men, and El-Moran, or warriors, who live herded together in separate kraals, where they are kept in constant military training by fighting with their neighbours and among themselves. On their return from a successful cattle raid, the booty, instead of being divided among the party, becomes the prey of the strongest, each warrior seizing what he pleases and keeping it, on condition of being able to hold his own in single combat for three days against all comers. In these sanguinary encounters more blood is shed than in predatory attacks on the common enemy. The Masai, physically a splendid race, tall and of symmetrical proportions, are little better than human wild beasts without even a rudiment of moral sentiment.

Their country, should it ever be opened for transit, seems to offer the most promising route to the Great Lakes, as it is reached through a dry hilly region extending almost to the coast, instead of the zone of pestilential swamp elsewhere cutting off the interior. Scarcity of water is the difficulty the traveller has here to contend with, as even in the rainy season the supply is but scant. The rainfall in the Masai country itself is very small, and in its lower and more southern districts so insufficient that these tracts may be characterized as desert, although the soil if duly watered would be rich and productive. The upper plateau region, varying in altitude from 5,000 to 9,000 feet is, on the contrary, very fertile, and its general aspect is described by Mr. Thomson as follows:—

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia, and the picturesque range of the Aberdare

* "Through Masai Land." By Joseph Thomson, F.R.G.S. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1885.

mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6,000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country, enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats, are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemone, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams, those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while farther south in Kapte the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-Kambani to the Sabaki river.

This entire region bears traces of recent volcanic activity, and at its extremities, about two hundred miles apart, are set, like mighty gateposts, Mounts Kenia and Kilim-ndjaro, the great twin snow peaks of Equatorial Africa. Both rise to a height of 18,000 or 19,000 feet, and both are volcanic cones, terminating in unmistakable crater summits. The constant cloud-cap of invisibility which shrouds them accounts for the conflicting evidence of travellers as to their existence, though the latter was long ago described by Portuguese geographers as the Ethiopian Mount Olympus. Mr. Thomson thus describes his first glimpse of Mount Kenia:—

Rushing to the top of the ridge, I was suddenly arrested by an object which fairly took my breath away. Before me, in the foreground, lay a splendid interchange of grove and glade, of forest and plain stretching in billowy reaches to the marshy expanse of Kope Kope. Beyond rose abruptly and very precipitously the black uninhabited mountains of the Aberdare range. These features, however, were not what had fascinated me. It was something more distant. Through a rugged and picturesque depression in the range rose a gleaming snow-white peak with sparkling facets, which scintillated with the superb beauty of a colossal diamond. It was, in fact, the very image of a great crystal or sugar loaf. At the base of this beautiful peak were two small excrescences like supporters to a monument. From these at a very slight angle, shaded away a long glittering white line, seen above the dark mass of the Aberdare range like the silver lining of a dark storm-cloud. This peak and silvery line formed the central culminating point of Mount Kenia.

Minor volcanic features, such as crater lakes, lava-escarpments, and solfataras, were also met with; but the most singular of these plutonic phenomena was a mountain whose apparent summit, on being ascended, proved to be but the knife-edge rim of a pit with perfectly perpendicular walls, some 1,500 or 2,000 feet high, enclosing an acacia-grown plain about three miles in circumference. The seeming mountain is thus but a hollow shell, as its Masai name of Dango Longoust, meaning "mountain of the big pit," clearly conveys.

Another singular district visited by Mr. Thomson was one in which the natives live in caves or excavations in the mountain side, villages being built in these chambers, which are over twelve feet in height, and have branches extending far into the mountain. They are evidently artificial, and Mr. Thomson conjectures them to have been created by the mining operations of some ancient civilized race. The present inhabitants are incapable of executing such works, and have no tradition as to their origin. "Our fathers lived here, and their fathers did the same," was the invariable answer to all questions on the subject.

Another traveller, Mr. H. H. Johnston (previously known by his book on the Congo), has made an interesting sojourn of many months on the African Mount Olympus itself, where, at a height of 11,000 feet, he found a delightful summer residence and centre of excursions to still higher altitudes. At 16,200 feet he was still more than 2,000 feet below the summit, which, from the impossibility of inducing the natives to accompany him, he never succeeded in reaching. Birds he found very rare above 10,000 feet, while lizards and chameleons existed up to the snow-line. Hyraxes, the coney of Scripture, abounded between 8,000 and 13,000 feet, while the range of the elephant and buffalo was as high as 14,000 feet. Terrific thunderstorms are described as raging round the upper slopes of the mountain, and the wind as being at times so violent that it is impossible to stand before it.

The Slave Coast and Dahomey.*—The Abbé Bouche, after many years of missionary work on the West Coast of Africa, gives in the volume before us an interesting study of the countries that border the Bight of Benin. The most valuable chapters are those which treat of the character and manners of the natives, of whose mental and moral capabilities the author speaks much more favourably than more superficial writers. Students of folk-lore will find some curious analogies with familiar fairy tales in many of the negro fables, called *alôs*, quoted here. The *open sesame* of the "Arabian Nights" has a counterpart in the story of the tortoise who learns from the lizard the secret of a hoard of yams hidden in a rock, but, forgetting the pass-word which bids the stone open for its exit, is found and killed by the owner of the store. There is a suggestion of the Pot of Basil in the tale of two brothers, the elder of whom kills the younger through envy, representing him to have been lost on a journey. A mushroom springs up from his mouldering remains, and when his mother tries to gather it utters plaints in a human voice and narrates the crime. The father comes, and then the king, with the same result, whereupon, the elder brother being killed, the younger is restored to life. Equally interesting are some of the negro adages, from their resemblance in form and spirit to popular proverbs in civilized countries. "The sword does not spare the head

* "La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey." Par l'Abbé Pierre Bouche. Paris: E. Plon; Nourrit et Cie. 1885.

of him who has forged it;" "The guilty is uneasy;" "At the sight of a sparrow-hawk do not expose your chickens on a rock;" "One does not kill the game by looking at it;" "One does not go amongst palm oil in a white garment;" are sayings that have all the pithy sententiousness of proverbs nearer home, while the French "*Aide toi et le ciel t'aidera*" is almost literally translated in "Heaven helps him who labours." The Abbé Bouche adduces these proofs of mental acumen, and even of a certain power of philosophical abstraction, on the part of the negro as an argument of some capability in him—a power of rising above his present degraded condition. Meantime we learn from *Les Missions Catholiques* that the horrible customs of Dahomey have been celebrated this year with even more than usual atrocity. The writer says that during the three months spent by him at Abome, scarcely a day passed without his seeing six newly-severed heads at the king's door, in addition to bodies nailed to the trees, and other victims dying by lingering and horrible deaths.

Beluchistan and the Valley of the Helmund.—The Afghan Boundary Commission, if it have achieved no political result, has at least added something to geographical knowledge, and Major Halditch, R.E., has communicated some interesting notes of its progress to the Royal Geographical Society. The part of Beluchistan traversed is an arid and almost desert country, and the road passes through a series of small valleys, bounded by bare sandstone ridges, while the vegetation of the dusty plain consists of such stunted shrubs as wormwood and camel-thorn. Water, though scarcely ever found superficially between Quetta and the Helmund, is almost everywhere present close to the surface, where it is reached by wells. Hence the Karez system of irrigation, by shafts at intervals connected by subterranean channels, prevails almost universally. The hard and dry superficial crust, known in India as kunkar, everywhere covers the country to the depth of a few inches, beneath which moist sand or water is reached. Intense heat by day in contrast with bitter cold by night made the climate a very trying one, and clouds of fine white dust added to the discomforts of the march.

Almost the only habitations visible are ziarats, or shrines of local saints, thus described by the writer :—

Both ziarats and huts possess all the grotesque features common to Biluch constructions all through the country. They may be described as rough, inverted birds' nests of sticks, the upper ends of which are adorned with quaint devices worked roughly on cloth, or, more commonly, with mere pieces of coloured rag, and the horns of animals (often of remarkable size and rarity) are constantly brought as ornaments to a shrine, and, like the coloured rags, applied to the purposes of outward ornamentation.

One more imposing shrine has small bells attached to the gay streamers and pendants fluttering round it, and their musical tinkling under the desert breeze is heard far across the waste. Votive offerings of various kinds fill the interior of these ziarats,

and the supposed possession of the evil eye by the resident fakir serves to stimulate the generosity of the faithful, since the traveller's camels, or other beasts of burden, are apt to die of some mysterious malady if he neglect his duty to the shrine.

Formosa.—The "Proceedings" of the Royal Geographical Society for January, 1885, contain an interesting account, by Mr. Beazeley, of a journey through Southern Formosa in 1875, the selection of a site for a lighthouse, since erected, on the South Cape having been the object of the expedition. Though visible from the mainland, from which it is separated in some places by only sixty or seventy miles of water-channel, the island seems to have been little known to the Chinese until comparatively recent times, and they waived their claim on it in favour of the Dutch in 1624, in exchange for the group of rocky islets known as the Pescadores. The Dutch were expelled, after thirty-eight years' occupation, by the great pirate-chief, Chin-Chin-Kung, called by Europeans Coxinga, who was in his turn driven out by the Chinese in 1683. Formosa, with a length of 245 miles, and a breadth of seventy-six, is traversed longitudinally by a lofty mountain-range rising to a height of 12,850 feet. Its crest presents a singularly unbroken outline, owing to its comparatively uniform elevation, and is apparently wooded to the summit. Shrouded in mists during the day, it is only at sunrise and sunset that it emerges to view, affording a majestic background for the coast scenery.

Formosa is undergoing a comparatively rapid process of upheaval, and its harbours are shoaling fast. During the Dutch occupation the capital, Taiwanfu, was a seaport, separated from Fort Zealandia, then an island, by an extensive harbour. The space between them is now a level plain many miles in extent, and Anping, near the ruins of the old fort, is the landing-place for goods and passengers. The transit of the latter through a heavy surf is effected with much discomfort, as they are seated in tubs floated on bamboo rafts called catamarans. Takow harbour has long been shoaling, and is now nearly useless as a port, while the whole coast line has extended considerably to the westward since the original Admiralty survey was made.

The western side of the island, consisting of comparatively level lowlands, has been occupied and, to a certain extent, colonized by the Chinese, while the eastern or mountainous portion is inhabited by the savage natives with whom they are at feud. There is, however, a third race on friendly terms with both, who are called Peppshuans, or foreigners of the plain. Among these people have been seen manuscripts, which are much treasured by them though no longer intelligible to them. They are believed to be formal documents like leases or contracts, and if, as is thought, they date from a period subsequent to the Dutch occupation, they prove the survival among the inhabitants of a tradition of European culture.

The climate of the coast, with a temperature of 95° and a steaming atmosphere, is intolerably oppressive, and its tropical jungle of

mangroves, bamboos, cycads, and pandanus, or screw-pine, is only interrupted here and there by fields of indigo and sugar-cane. Near the seashore are several towns of 6,000 and 7,000 inhabitants, the houses are thatched cottages built of wattle or bamboo, but with stores and shops, and a considerable junk trade. Many of the inland villages are inhabited by Chinese settlers married to native women, who are described as handsome and well-proportioned, with long hair plaited with red cloth wound round their heads coronet fashion.

The imports in foreign vessels in 1883 amounted to £758,000, the exports to £1,178,000, Oolung tea counting for £640,000 of the latter. The export of coal was only 32,000 tons, valued at £17,000, while turmeric and camphor were estimated respectively at £14,000 and £11,000. The coal mines at Kelung are not of any great value, the quality being very inferior. Eighty tons a day were extracted by 300 workmen from level workings, no shafts having been sunk. The seam at its outcrop has a thickness of two and a half feet.

Recent Explorations in Tibet.—At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday evening, December 8, an interesting paper was read by General Walker, late Surveyor-General of India, on "Four Years' Journeyings through Great Tibet, by one of the Trans-Himalayan Explorers of the Survey of India." The traveller, one of the Asiatics employed by the Indian Survey for the exploration of regions where Europeans cannot penetrate with safety, is described as Pundit A——k, since those who are likely to be employed on similar service must remain anonymous until their work is done. His instructions were to strike across the great plateau of Tibet into Mongolia by any practicable route from north to south, returning by a fresh parallel road. As he was to travel in the guise of a wandering merchant, he was supplied with funds for the purchase of a stock-in-trade at Lhása, while his outfit included a rosary on which to count his paces, and a Buddhist prayer-barrel in which to conceal his field books. Thus equipped, he started from Darjeeling in April, 1878, accompanied by a servant and a companion, crossed the Himalayas by a low pass, and reached the lake called Khambabardji, visible on all maps as a ring of water encircling a large central island. He thence made his way to Lhása, where he was detained a whole year waiting for a caravan to Mongolia, and it was only in September, 1879, that he started with a party of about 100 strong, principally Mongolians, on their way north. The Mongolians were mounted, the Tibetans walked, and all were armed with sword, spear, or matchlock, for defence against robbers. Military order was observed on the march, a precaution which proved by no means superfluous, as they were attacked at one time by a band of 200 freebooters. These they were able eventually to beat off, but not until they had carried off great part of the Pundit's merchandise and all his baggage animals. The high Tibetan plateau, called Ching-Tang, or northern plain, was reached sixty miles from

Lhása by the Lani La pass, 15,750 feet high. In this region, inhabited by a sparse nomad population, are situated the grazing ground of the Government brood mares, 300 in number, from whose fermented milk is prepared the only spirituous beverage permitted to the Dalai Lama. Some 7,000 tents were passed, according to the Pundit's reckoning, in 180 miles, the Ching-Tang for the remaining 240 being entirely uninhabited, while the traffic met in the opposite direction consisted of a single caravan, and one party of five mounted men, believed to be robbers. The highest pass crossed was one of 16,400 feet on the Dongla range, dividing the basin of the upper Yang-tse-Kiang, and of the Mekong flowing through Cambodia. The height of the camping-grounds ranged from 13,500 to 15,000 feet. The descent from the Ching-Tang on its northern declivity brought the travellers to the plains of Chaidam, about 9,000 feet high, a comparatively warm and well-wooded region. On the return journey numbers of Tibetan traders were passed, carrying home from China supplies of the coarse tea used in the country, to the gross amount, according to the Pundit's guess, of about 300,000 lbs. On this route the explorer passed Lithang, one of the highest cities in the world, since it is situated 13,300 feet above the level of the sea. Though at one time within thirty miles of the British frontier, the Pundit had to turn aside and take the circuitous route by Lhása, the intervening tribe being too savage for the passage to be attempted. He reached Darjeeling in November, 1882, having traversed in four and a half years 2,800 miles of country in which no European can venture to set foot. The value of his journey is increased by the attention recently called to Tibet as a possible market for British goods, unless Russia should pre-occupy the field here, as elsewhere, in Central Asia.

Life in an Oasis.—Madame Levinck, who, in 1882, made her way to the Oasis of Figuig, gives an interesting account of it in the *Revue de Géographie* for December, 1884. This isolated community is situated in the Sahara between Algiers and Morocco, about 400 kilomètres from Bordy Mecheria, and nearly due east of Mount Atlas. Its group of buildings, minarets, and white crenellated walls emerge from an extensive palm-forest, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills rising in bare rock-terraces from the plain. The entire space is included within an enceinte seventeen kilomètres in length, enclosing 1,275 hectares, of which some 300 are covered by the houses, interspersed, however, with about 100,000 date-palms, forming a second forest within the walls. The mud-built ramparts rest on a foundation resembling Cyclopean masonry, believed by the writer to be of Roman construction. The gates, which are jealously guarded, are defended by fifty-three towers, twenty-four feet in height. The oasis is peopled by eight groups of inhabitants, having each a separate city, called Ksar (plural, Ksour), a palace or castle. Each Ksar is surrounded by its own rampart, and communicates only with its own palm-gardens, though all are included within the common wall of circumvallation. The palm-forest is not an agree-

able place for an idle stroll, as it is a perfect labyrinth of walls, ditches, and winding paths through a prickly jungle of Barbary figs, aloes, and acacias, forming a system of defence impenetrable to an enemy without artillery.

The treasure so closely guarded is the water of fifteen springs, which nourish the fertility of the oasis. In addition to the date-palm, which, according to the proverb, requires to have "its head in the fire, and its feet in the water," lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, apricots, bananas, and vines, flourish here in luxuriance. The springs are surrounded by arcades attached to the principal mosques, and the most copious, the Ain Zaddert, is surmounted by a bastioned tower, occupied always by forty men armed to the teeth. This spring, which probably comes from a great depth, since it pours forth 200 litres a second, at an unvarying temperature of 23° Centigrade, was in 1878 diverted from the possession of its original owners to the neighbouring Ksar, by an ingenious stratagem. A subterranean gallery was excavated under the simple wall and ditch which then guarded it, and, the parapet of the well being blown up by the explosion of a few jars of powder, the stream poured through the breach into the tunnel, and was thus conducted to the citadel of the enterprising aggressors. The defrauded owners submitted after a brief resistance, and the rival tribe usurped their previous position of pre-eminent influence among their neighbours.

The water-question is naturally the pivot of the political situation, and is regulated by a syndicate elected by the djemâa, or general assembly of the oasis. The water-supply, distributed to each individual in strict proportion to the quantity of land and number of palm-trees owned by him, is gauged by a curious mechanical contrivance. A tin vessel, holding about two litres, with holes of ascertained size pierced in its bottom, is placed on the stream, and the time that elapses before it sinks is the measure of that during which the water is allowed to flow to the different plantations. In other oases, a sand-glass is used for the same purpose, and the size of a man's property is indicated by saying he is the owner of a sand-glass, or a sand-glass and a half, of water.

The oasis is a pious community, to judge by its institutions, and the government of the several Ksour is practically a religious oligarchy, with the chief marabout at its head. One Ksar has as many as three mosques, in addition to zaouya, monasteries, combining schools, convents, and hotels, in which travellers are gratuitously lodged. They are famous as centres of learning, and are visited by students from all North Africa as far as Fez. One is attended by 1,500 students, who pay no fees of any kind. The rich bring an outfit of clothing, and some presents in money or kind, seldom amounting to more than 100 or 200 francs, for a residence of from three to eight years, but the poor students come as pilgrims, dependent wholly on charity for subsistence. These Mohammedan colleges probably reproduce the conditions of life in the mediæval universities more faithfully than any modern institutions. The pro-

fessors are begging monks, whose profession of learning and sanctity is generally a cloak for idleness and self-indulgence. Madame Levinck does not narrate by what means, or in what guise, she contrived to penetrate to this remote settlement, generally inaccessible to Europeans.

The Religious Question in Japan.—Under this head *Les Missions Catholiques* of January 9, 1885, has an interesting article describing the revolution gradually being operated in public feeling in Japan through contact with Western ideas. An extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of civilized nations, and desire for equality with them, are gradually undermining the hereditary creeds in the minds of the cultivated classes, and have had a positive result in a decree of August, 1884, granting universal toleration, and practically abolishing the State religion. The latter is Shintoism, or worship of the ancestors of the Mikados, consisting entirely of empty ceremonial; but Buddhism, with its substantial basis of doctrine, is the religion of the vast majority of the people, and the only one that has any living power over their minds. Christianity, meantime, to the great discontent of the Bonzes, or Buddhist priests, has been making steady progress during the last ten or twelve years, and Catholicity counts some 30,000 adherents, while half that figure may be taken to represent the converts of other Christian sects.

Mere indifferentism on the other hand, or the adoption of some of the fashionable materialistic philosophies of the West, is the more ordinary phase into which the educated Japanese passes as soon as the friction of Western thought has rubbed off all the prejudices of his traditional belief. But the most singular and characteristic feature of the movement is the attitude taken up by a portion of the Japanese press, in urging the adoption of a European form of religion as a badge of progress, and without any belief in its moral efficacy. The extracts from the Japanese papers in this sense, quoted in the article we are summarizing, are exceedingly curious, though too lengthy to be fully reproduced here. One paper which had been strenuously opposed to the introduction of Christianity as a probable source of internal dissension, now advocates its adoption in the following strain:—

If we wish to maintain our relations with the West on the footing of international right, it is of the first necessity for us to purge ourselves of the stigma of anti-Christian, and secure our admission into the great family of civilized peoples by the adoption of the social colouring. From this point of view it seems that we should adopt a religion, which, universally followed in Europe and America, exercises so considerable an influence on the affairs of this world and on social relations; we should thus take our place in Christendom, and share the advantages and disadvantages of the civilized world. In our opinion there is no other mode of arranging the diplomatic aspect of our relations with foreign powers. The adoption of the Christian religion will put the ideas of the Japanese in harmony with those of the peoples of the West. We then earnestly desire, in the interest of our Government to see it take steps towards the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

It seems evident (things being as they are) that the Christian religion must succeed in Japan, and Buddhism disappear. We do not mean that Japan will from to-day or to-morrow form part of Christendom; but the victory of Christianity is only a question of time: it will infallibly arrive. For in order that a religious propaganda may have a prospect of success in Japan, it must have material resources at its disposal, and be conducted by wise, learned, and virtuous men, invested with an official character.

The article goes on to speak of the ignorance of the Bonzes having lost them their former ascendancy over the people, and contrasts them unfavourably with the ministers of Christianity. Another paper writes of the tendency towards Christianity becoming more marked from day to day, and causing alarm in the Buddhist camp. Thus there seems reason to hope that the prediction of the Pagan writer just quoted may be verified in the triumph of truth over error in the far East.

Notes on Novels.

. The notes which are here introduced into the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW were announced in the Prospectus regarding its future efforts which was placed before the public at the close of last year. In widening the circle of its interests, it was there said, "We shall not hesitate" from time to time to include light literature so far as to make known those "current works of Fiction which may be safely perused by different classes of Catholic readers." It is believed that this undertaking will approve itself to most of our readers as an addition worth the space given to it, especially when the purpose just mentioned is borne in mind. At the same time we wish to prevent one possible misconception. Whilst fully recognizing the important functions which may be discharged by chaste and healthy works of fiction, we wish emphatically to state that our "Notes" are NOT intended to *advocate* novel-reading. Our purpose is NOT an invitation to read any novels. But, it being assumed that many people do read them, and that many novels are unworthy of the time they demand, others unfit for the perusal of youth, and not a few unsuited, perhaps dangerous, to any Catholic reader—we propose to offer a judgment on the quality of certain novels that are in more general demand, raising the note of warning wherever we discover need for doing so. The large quantity of unhealthy fiction is reason pressing enough why criticism from their own standpoint should somewhere be available to Catholics. With this purpose in view it will be a pleasure to speak admiringly of those worthier specimens of English fiction wherein fine artistic excellence is not marred by any low or unworthy moral tone or teaching. We commence with a few novels, chiefly specimen works of authors in wide and increasing demand, intending to add, another time, other names of the same classic sort, together with the better known of the newer aspirants to fame.

1. *The Wreck of the "Grosvenor."* Fifth Edition. 1884. 2. *The Lady Maud.* 3. *A Sea Queen.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London: Sampson Low & Co.

"THE Wreck of the 'Grosvenor,'" though not the first of its author's works—"John Houldsworth, Chief Mate" having preceded it—is the one which made him known to the public as the successor of Marryat and Cooper in delineating the romance of the deep. The successor, but in no sense the imitator, for his work is a fresh coinage of imaginative truth stamped with more genuine inspiration than the somewhat laboured realism of his predecessors. A sailor by profession and by instinctive vocation, he describes the sea in all its phases with a fervour of passion which cannot fail to carry away his readers, while sea-life in all its details grotesque or tragical, is familiar to him with the evident association of long habit. A master of descriptive eloquence, his vivid pictures of the infinite moods of ocean must rouse some visionary presentment of them in the dullest imagination, but to those who have been at sea, who know what it is to sleep to that most effective of all lullabies, the hissing rush of speeding waters past the ear—he seems to summon up, as by an actual illusion of the senses, the scenes he so graphically depicts. In this line of writing there is perhaps nothing finer in the English language than the description, in an early chapter of "*A Sea Queen*," of the ships making the mouth of the Tyne and crossing the bar in an on-shore gale of wind. The author here rises to a level far higher than what it is the fashion to call "word-painting"—often as unmeaning as the random daubing of colours on a palette—since he presents the scene to us in full tragic intensity through the emotions of the spectators, culminating in those of the wife and daughter watching from the cliffs the fate of the little brig steered by their husband and father. The applause of the sailors on shore as she dares the gale by showing an extra fragment of sail to help her through the terrible crisis in store for her—the hoarse cheer with which the multitude on Tynemouth cliffs greet her safety as she is tossed from crest to crest of the whirling seas into the smooth water beyond—are dramatic touches as heart-stirring as any in Macaulay's "*Lays of Rome*."

But Mr. Russell's romances are not mere threads of narrative on which to string his descriptive passages, but thrilling tales of adventure wonderfully varied considering the necessary limitations of his theme. "*The Wreck of the 'Grosvenor'*" is the story of a mutiny, in which, after the murder of the captain and the first mate, the hero, the second mate, is spared by the mutineers to navigate the ship for them, but with the intention of scuttling it when near shore, and leaving him to perish on board. How, with the assistance of one confederate, he eventually frustrates their designs and succeeds in saving not only his own life, but those of his helpless passengers—a young lady and her father, saved by him from a wreck—we will leave our readers, if they do not already know, to find out for themselves.

The "Sea Queen" is a heroine who sails in her husband's ship, and eventually helps by her spirit and courage to replace the loss of the crew and bring the vessel into port; while "The Lady Maud"—the story of the wreck of a schooner yacht on a desert island near the Bahamas—is not behind any of its predecessors in interest. When we add that Mr. Clark Russell has never written a word unsuited to readers of any age, and that his sympathies are all with what is good both in religion and morals, we think we have said enough to recommend him to even a wider public than he already commands.

1. *The Baby's Grandmother*. A New Edition. 2. *Mr. Smith, a Part of his Life*. By L. B. WALFORD. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

THOSE readers who have not yet made acquaintance with Mrs. Walford's novels have a pleasant treat in store for them in her latest work, "The Baby's Grandmother." To buoyant spirits and a fresh imagination the author unites a piquancy of style which is fairly irresistible. Her characters are life-like yet unbackneyed, she has an artistic grasp of plot, and excels in her conversations, which are thoroughly natural, spontaneous, and flowing. The subject of the story under discussion is an uncommon one, as may be inferred from the title; it has always been the fashion among novelists to claim the reader's sympathy for the young. Mrs. Walford opens her new novel with the announcement that her heroine is—a grandmother! To minds weakened by a long course of fiction this statement will prove something of a shock, and skilful must be the pen which aspires to reconcile the ordinary reader to an impulsive heroine of seven and thirty! Mrs. Walford is more than equal to the difficulty; chapter by chapter, the sweet, the wilful, the charming Lady Matilda, grandmother though she be, grows upon the reader's affections, until at length he is fain to confess himself one of the most devoted admirers in her train. It must be admitted that Lady Matilda finds an excellent foil in her daughter Lotta. If Lotta had been at all such a daughter as one might expect from such a mother, Lady Matilda must have contented herself with at least a divided sovereignty over her little kingdom of Overton, but Lotta, from her cradle upwards, was an unmitigated prig.

At the age of eight she cut and stitched dolls' frocks without assistance. She set herself her own tasks if her governess was unwell or absent, gave directions as to when tucks were to be let down, or breadths let out of her frocks, and refrained on principle from tasting unknown puddings at table.

This dreadful child would also ask for her medicine at the proper hour, and preferred preparing her lessons to playing battledore and shuttlecock. Fortunately for the happiness of Overton, when Miss Lotta is seventeen a suitor appears; and, relieved from the wet

blanket of the young lady's presence, Matilda and her brothers breathe freely again; but the next event is that Lady Matilda becomes a grandmother! How, in spite of this damnatory fact, she wins all hearts, and the heart of one in particular, must be left to the reader to find out; there is no fear that having once begun the book he will wish to get quicker to the kernel than the story allows. An objection might be made to the opportune death of Mary Tufnell as rather a mean way out of a difficulty: opportune deaths are so frequent in fiction, so rare in real life. But it is ungrateful to cavil at trifles in a novel where the essentials are altogether excellent.

If "The Baby's Grandmother" deserves much praise, "Mr. Smith," an earlier work by the same author, and now in its third edition, must obtain still warmer meed. While the book holds the mirror up to nature in most amusing fashion, the author gives us in Mr. Smith the portrait of such a man as true heroes resemble—a modest, upright, noble-hearted gentleman; and the influence for good which he exercised over the character of the heroine should work, too, over the character of young women into whose hands his story may fall.

1. *Sunrise: a Story of these Times.* Sixth Edition. 2. *The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton.* 3. *The Bells of Shandon.* By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Sampson Low & Co.

THE author of "A Princess of Thule" has won an honourable name long ago among novelists. If he is not as delicately subtle as Jane Austen, or as pathetic in prosaic life as Charlotte Brontë, or as picturesque in romance as Blackmore, his name has been classed with all these before now, not so much for genius—for they differ widely in excellence, and Mr. Black himself is a most unequal writer—but because their best works are up to a standard that deserves to live, and the whole mass of what they have written is broadly classed as "unimpeachable" from a moral point of view. "Sunrise" is a remarkable book—it just stops short, and turns back provokingly, when one has got nearly to the end in the hope that it is an admirable book. The story tells how a frank and honest man, George Brand, the wealthy son of a Northern ironmaster, is led by a generous, enthusiastic friend to come into contact with the members of a secret political society in London. Ferdinand Lind, the conspirator, lives in Curzon Street, very much like his neighbours; and George Brand, athirst to work good to the oppressed, has no idea whatever that, on the night of his initiation at a dinner party, his host, Lind, has just returned from Venice, where, at a meeting of the secret council, he was selected by ballot to carry out a decree of assassination. To get Brand out of his way, Lind contrives that he shall be selected for the red deed in Italy in place of himself. Brand is summoned to Curzon Street, and by dint of plausible argument he is persuaded that what he hitherto called murder may be after

all just punishment inflicted on one for the saving of hundreds from his cruelty.

He [Ferdinand Lind] leant over and pulled towards him a sheet of paper. Then he took a pair of scissors and cut the sheet into four pieces; these he proceeded to fold up until they were about the size of a shilling and identically alike. All the time he was talking. . . . He opened a bottle of red ink that stood by. "The simplest means are sufficient," said he. "This was how we used to settle affairs in '48." He opened one of the pieces of paper and put a cross in red on it, which he dried on the blotting-paper. Then he folded it up again, threw the four pieces into a paste-board box, put down the lid, and shook the box lightly. "Whoever draws the red cross," he said, almost indifferently, "carries out the command of the council. Have you anything to say, gentlemen—to suggest?"

Brand is the third to draw; one of the others has thrown his paper in the fire; the other has flung it on the floor: his bears the red cross! In agony of mind, with nothing to guide him but his human thoughts, he is resolved to obey the council, and then to fling his own life away. For the present he is blinded; in the future he is ruined. He does not know the baseness of Lind, who had foredoomed him by marking all the papers, so that the red cross was inevitable. Brand is saved through the brave earnestness of the Hungarian girl, Natalie, Lind's daughter, to whom he is betrothed. Before the council at Venice she takes courage to speak; and this is the author's meaning compressed from all the story:—

You who are so powerful, you who profess to seek only mercy, and justice, and peace, why should you also follow the old bad cruel ways and stain yourselves with blood? Surely it is not for you, the friends of the poor, the champions of the weak, the teachers of the people, to rely on the weapon of the assassin? . . . For the sake of those who have already joined you—for the sake of the far greater numbers who may yet be your associates—I implore you to abandon these secret and dreadful means.

If the book openly denounced secrecy as well as assassination, we should call it admirable; but all at once it stops short, and misses the mark towards which we had hoped it was aimed.

You remember [says Brand, in the last chapter] the morning we turned out of the little inn on the top of the Niessen to see the sun rise over the Bernese Alps? . . . And we waited and watched, and the light grew stronger, and all sorts of colours began to show along the peaks. That was the sunrise. But down in the valleys everything was misty, and dark, and cold; everything asleep; the people there could see nothing of the new day we were looking at. And so I suppose it is with us now. We are looking ahead. We see, or fancy we see, the light before the others; but sooner or later they will see it also, for the sunrise is bound to come.

This is clearly the drift of the book; and no sane man, emphatically no Catholic, can hail as sunrise the work of the secret associations of Europe. Not the first light on the mountain peaks do they show men, but the first flashes of the storm that the rest of the world may feel full soon, and that the quiet sleepers in the valleys little expect. If "Sunrise" be taken to show how an honest,

earnest man may find too late that secret societies are linked with crime unknown to their lower grades, then much may be learned from it; quite otherwise is it if it be taken to point to certain political agitations as "sunrise" work for the world. It contains many living glimpses of Venice, as vivid as the word-painting of England in the "Adventures of a Phaeton;" and has more poetry in its prose pages than are to be found in the "Phaeton" and the "Bells of Shandon" put together; while Natalie Lind is quite worthy to follow "A Princess of Thule."

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1. *Cripps the Carrier*: a Woodland Tale. Fourth Edition. 1883.
 2. *Lorna Doone*: a Romance of Exmoor. Twenty-second Edition. 1883.
 3. *The Remarkable History of Sir Thomas Upmore, Bart., M.P., formerly known as "Tommy Upmore."* 2 vols. Third Edition. 1884. By RICHARD DODDRIDGE BLACKMORE. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.

INGENUITY in the construction of his plot is not the most marked of Mr. Blackmore's qualities as a novelist; but in "Cripps the Carrier," the story, if not strikingly original, is yet sufficiently exciting to sustain the interest of the reader to the end of the volume. The main thread of the narrative follows the fortunes or misfortunes of Grace Oglander, the daughter of an Oxfordshire Squire. She is borne off from the residence of her aunt by the machinations of a villainous attorney, who entraps her into his power by the usual expedient of a forged letter from her father. The latter, anxiously expecting his daughter's return, receives by the carrier a sack of potatoes, and in it a long coil of bright golden hair, accompanied by the brutal superscription—"All you will ever see of her." Scarcely a doubt remains in his mind as to the fate of poor Grace, and his fears are confirmed by the testimony of Esther Cripps, the carrier's sister, who, in a belated walk, is the witness of a ghastly deed—the burial of the uncoffined body of a young girl in a ravine called the "Gipsy's Grave." Grace herself is in the meantime safely ensconced in the depths of the Oxford forest under the care of Miss Patch, the governess, and makes such good use of her natural gifts that she enthral's the heart of Kit Sharp, the attorney's son. For him, both she and her large fortune were designed by his unscrupulous father; but an unforeseen difficulty is interposed by the traitorous conduct of Kit himself. When he discovers that the girl is not an American, as he was led to suppose, but the daughter of Squire Oglander, he resolves to restore her to her father's roof; and this he succeeds in doing with the timely assistance of "Cripps the Carrier." The most powerful part of the story is that which describes the flight of Grace Oglander and her new protector, the conflict between father and son, and the eventual rescue of the maiden by the carrier. The attorney strikes his son dead, as he thinks, and then appropriately closes his career by blowing his own brains out in the forest.

But it is not in scenes of violence that Mr. Blackmore's real excellence is to be found. The themes on which he delights to dwell, and to which he always imparts some fresh interest, are the quiet ways of Nature—the growth of a plant, the snow upon the bough, the ice slowly forming on a pool. And it is this graceful delineation of Nature which saves "Lorna Doone" from the charge of tediousness. The heroine of the robber stronghold has secured a permanent place in English fiction; but we doubt whether the story would not be still more popular if it had been somewhat abridged.

It is a pity that Mr. Blackmore should have wasted such excellent and witty writing on a plot so essentially ridiculous as that of "Tommy Upmore," the flying boy. The chief incidents of his career are dependent upon his faculty of "spontaneous levigation;" but, although only six stone six pounds in weight when full grown, it does not appear how or why he did occasionally rise above the heads of the spectators. The author may possibly have intended to suggest an allegory; but, if so, he would have been wise to follow Spenser's example, and sketch in plain prose the particulars of his "dark conceit."

My Trivial Life and Misfortune. By A PLAIN WOMAN. A Gossip with no Plot in Particular. A New Edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

THIS book is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable studies of society that has appeared for years. In its fidelity to human nature and minuteness of observation it recalls the novels of Jane Austen, although in many ways suggesting points of difference rather than points of comparison with the inimitable creator of "Emma." Miss Austen excelled in a delicate and playful irony; this anonymous author deals in trenchant satire, and a humorousness which is somewhat bitter. If Miss Austen's works have been justly described as miniature painting, "My Trivial Life" may be compared to photography. It has all the merits of a good photograph, while wanting in some of the qualities which go to the making of a good picture. It is absolutely true to nature, and so is a photograph, but it does not leave a pleasing impression on the mind, and so it is not a work of art. It fails again through the morbid influence it is likely to exert in teaching that life, except for the very few, is not worth living; that for the many the world is monotonous and cruelly unjust. Such lessons are highly objectionable for the young, and unworthy, as art, of any Christian standard of life. And should the author contend that her object is not to teach, but to amuse, then here, too, has she failed, for, although there is much that is amusing in her book, those best able to appreciate it will, we think, be least exhilarated by its perusal. The dreary, deadly-lively existence of Sherbrooke Hall becomes almost as insupportable to the reader as to the heroine; the savage contempt one feels for the fashionable, brainless, utterly inane creatures who frittered life away at Mineham

interferes with the laughter their follies would otherwise excite. For these people in "My Trivial Life" are so vividly set before you that they seem to live and move; you hear them talk; as with men you know intimately, you can tell what they are going to say almost before they open their mouths. You close the book and find it difficult to convince yourself you have not been reading a painful passage in real life rather than a work of imagination. Tradition says that not one of Miss Austen's characters could be traced home to the persons of her acquaintance. Doubtless as much originality may be claimed for the author of "My Trivial Life." The Sherbrookes, the Rigardy-Wrenstones, the Clarke girls, are figments of the brain alone; but, in that case, for wealth of detail, for aptness of illustration, for marvellous perception of character as exemplified in trifles, Jane Austen has at length found a rival. And "A Plain Woman" possesses depths of pathos and passion which Jane Austen never knew.

Olivia Raleigh. By W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE, Author of "Tom Singleton, Dragoon and Dramatist." London: George Routledge & Sons. 1884.

AN interesting and instructive essay might be written on the priests of English fiction. From Richardson's Father Mariscotti, down to Don Ipollito of "A Foregone Conclusion," one meets a remarkable set of men. A study of them would, perhaps, materially help us towards ascertaining how our sober-minded countrymen erected for themselves a "bogey" wherewith to scare themselves and their children for many generations, and how at last the "bogey" is giving place to an image of a priest as he is—at least *human* in both faults and virtues. Amongst this large assemblage of fictional priests there is scarcely one better deserving notice than the Rev. Mr. Santiago Fletcher of "Olivia Raleigh;" indeed, outside Manzoni's celebrated "I promessi Sposi," we do not know where to find a more charming picture of a Catholic priest. Here is Mr. Synge's description of his and, assuredly, his readers' favourite:—

The Father Jem alluded to was a tall, spare ecclesiastic, of a type long since broken up. Educated abroad, in the famous University of Salamanca, he had been chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in Paris at the breaking out of the Revolution. Up to that time he had borne a pure and blameless character; and if there had been no special unction of piety in his manners or conversation, if the priest had been gracefully grafted on the man of the world and society, Father Santiago Fletcher was far from being a mere drawing-room Abbé; still less had he ever brought reproach on his holy calling. But during the Reign of Terror several of his dearest friends and daily associates—great nobles, fine ladies, and brother priests—had been driven into exile and poverty, or had expiated on the scaffold their crimes, their rank, or their virtues. And when the young priest accompanied by choice his relatives the De Ségalas to England, his character had received the indelible expression of seriousness which had hitherto appeared wanting in his somewhat easy character.

As chaplain to the Ambassador of Spain, he could have returned without hindrance to the country of his birth. But he knew that Maurice de Ségalas was timid and selfish, little able to protect wife or child, and much more likely to submit with feminine courage and resignation to the doom of the Committee of Public Safety than to incur risk, hardship, and contumely in forcing his way to his wife's country. Father Fletcher it was, then, who bribed an incorruptible Jacobin to furnish the necessary passports, who hired and steered the boat which conveyed them from St. Malo to Jersey, and who gagged and would have pistolled one of the three boatmen, who, on discovering that the passengers were *aristos*, would have delivered them up to the captain of the Republican *chasse-mariée* stationed off the coast. It was he who finally brought them safe to Playford, and arranged with the lawyers and agents in Brittany for the remittal from time to time to the exiles of such modicums of rental as fidelity or the belief in a Royalist reaction induced them to spare to the real owners of the property which they had acquired as patriotic purchasers of the emigrant Vicomte's sequestrated estates.

There were but few Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood of Playford, but there was a little chapel at the back of Davey's rope-walk which had been built and endowed by the grandfather of the present Duke of Dunsborough before he conformed to the Church established by law. A few farmers who had declined to shift their faith with their landlords, the head clerk in the Playford branch of the Edenshire Bank, some Irish labourers employed on the incipient railway, old Mrs. Coppinger in Lomax's Fields, and the man who kept the Walford turnpike, were almost the only frequenters of the "Mass house," as Silas Fletcher and others of the sterner sort persisted in calling the chapel which was now confided to his cousin's charge. But the silver-tongued Abbé, whom bepatched and bepowdered ladies had listened to with rapture and flattered with insinuating tact, was far happier with his humble flock than he had ever been with his congregation of courtiers and ambassadors. His heart and soul were now in his work, as well as his conscience and his sense of duty. Through much tribulation he had won, if not the Kingdom of Heaven, at least, the heavenly-mindedness which fits us for it. . . .

It has been already said that Father Santiago—or Parson Jem, as Philip Fletcher had persisted in translating the more euphonious Spanish synonym—was tall and thin. Yet that is but a poor description. Many men are tall and thin who bear no other resemblance to this clergyman. . . . He had in the highest degree the Spaniard's passion for fine and delicate linen; and perhaps Mrs. Bradshaw, the washerwoman, and Miss Suttaby, the clear-starcher, were the only persons in Playford who had heard a peevish word from the courteous Popish clergyman. But if his cambric shirts were not whiter than fuller could whiten them, and if his unstiffened lace ruffles and cravat did not fall in faultless folds, Father Fletcher had been heard to mutter "Caramba," a word at once sonorous and unintelligible, which sounded terribly like an anathema of his persecuting Church. But the awful imprecation had been followed by so sweet a smile, not of forgiveness, but of apology for his own hastiness, that years had now passed without Miss Suttaby or Mrs. Bradshaw giving him fresh occasion for sin. His hair had been of a bright, almost too bright, chestnut. It was now nearly white; but, as hair of that complexion seldom blanches completely in a healthy man of sixty-two, it was more than shrewdly suspected that one more taint of worldliness, besides the love of delicate linen, still clung to the zealous clergyman, and that his snowy locks would hardly have been quite so snowy but for

the occasional sprinkling of Maréchale powder. A Spanish sun had not embrowned the clear broad forehead which these hoary locks surmounted. His complexion was very fair—so fair that his face, with its almost regular features, would have been open to a charge of effeminacy but for the unquenched but subdued fire in his brown eyes, and for the square and almost severe chin, which Phil Fletcher said would have made a field-marshal of its owner if he had been sent to a military school instead of to a clerical seminary. The expression of his face was dignified and benevolent—so benevolent that not my Uncle Toby himself could more gravitate to him, by a mysterious attraction, the poor, the unhappy, or the penitent; so noble in its dignity that the most daring reprobate or the most brainless buffoon would scarcely have ventured on a ribald word, or an unbecoming jest, if Father Santiago were within hearing. (P. 80).

And Mr. Synge is a Protestant! How Father Jem bears himself towards the various persons whom he comes across in the tale we will leave the reader to see for himself. It is a tale told with the conscientious care of a literary artist, not a slovenly sentence from beginning to end, and the elevated tone, the lovable and life-like characters of the book, warrant its careful workmanship. Father Jem, Aunt Pen, Uncle Silas, Sam Piper, Olivia Raleigh, and Geoffrey Walsham are additions to our imaginary friends whose acquaintance it is a distinct joy and gain to make. We said imaginary friends. But surely Mr. Synge must have known them in the flesh. Here and there are quiet touches of pathos, kindly humour, and poetry of sentiment that remind us of Thackeray. If we mistake not, Mr. Synge was one of Thackeray's intimate friends. Passages abound in "Olivia Raleigh" and "Tom Singleton" which his dead friend and great master might have been proud to write. The edition we have quoted from is the new one, with its attractive frontispiece and large print, brought out by Messrs. Routledge as one of their "Railway Library."

1. *Art McMorrough O'Cavanagh, Prince of Leinster.* By M. L. BYRNE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.

2. *The Brides of Kensington.* By Miss BRIDGES, Author of "Sir Thomas Maxwell and his Ward." 3. *Snowflakes, and other Tales.* By M. SINCLAIR ALLISON. London: R. Washbourne. 1885.

"THE Pale and the Septs," "Leixlip Castle," "Ill-won Peerages; or, Four Epochs of Ireland's History," are works already written by Miss M. L. Byrne; and now comes "Art McMorrough O'Cavanagh: an Historical Romance of the Fourteenth Century." This is evidence of hard work upon Irish history, and the only question is whether popular bright essays would not have been more useful to tell Ireland's tale than a series of thick volumes of somewhat tough reading. The same pen could have made descriptive studies attractive, as we see from the description of the ruined

Bhailemor restored. If Ireland had a Sir Walter Scott, it would be a happy day for her, and for English readers too; but there was only one Walter Scott, after all, and modern historical fiction like the broad colouring of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, might sometimes better be called fictitious history. "Whilom" and "peradventure," "Ho, Sir Nicolas!" and "Sayest thou so?" are not the most lively reading for a modern tongue; nor are these things the fourteenth century—not even if all the men say "Beshrew" this and that, and if the astonished man exclaims, "Beshrew my stars." There is nothing more difficult than a true archaic style; these old expressions are apt to mingle with the most glaringly new words. We would also note that the mispronunciation of nineteenth-century words did not sound ludicrous five centuries ago. "Plase" was perhaps correct for "please" then; Spenser shows us that "say" was certainly correct for "sea." Other words have suffered a reverse process; we all say "break" like "brake," and Herrick, in Elizabeth's days, rhymed "wear" with "ear." We wish this energetic and laborious writer had given us simple pictures of her country in the old times instead of 711 pages in this dreadful style.

"The Brides of Kensington" is the story of a "faire ladye of high degree" (titles abound in Miss Bridges' stories), who hears a sermon by Mgr. Mermillod at Geneva, becomes a convert, suffers persecution, and is eventually married to Lord Fitzalan "at the High Altar of the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, by his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster." They could all have got on quite as well without the mention of either of these prelates; and another faire ladye of high degree would have got on much better without finding it a relief to think in slang, "He is so sharp, he would twig my object;" neither ought a gentleman to say "Rather!" when he means "Decidedly." These blemishes are more noticeable in a circle where one finds cheeks as pale as marble and hair once black as the raven's wing. However, as stories go, "The Brides of Kensington" will pass muster among small books of fiction. It is up to the average of minor stories; but we wish that average could be higher.

"Snowflakes, and other Tales," are very graceful stories told for little children, in pure English, and full of imagination about simple things. We wish some Catholic writer for children could write up to the level of Hans Andersen, and such classic stories as his immortal simple tales. We have no one that fills his place with us; Miss Mulholland has perhaps a touch of the magic, but her audience are older. M. Sinclair Allison has gone forward a few steps at the beginning of the path—very far off, but on the right road; is it worth while for this new writer to study Hans Andersen closely, and detect his secrets, and try again?

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

1. *Katholik*.

Von Hartmann on the Origin of Religion.—Dr. Gutberlet, the author of one of our best text-books of Catholic philosophy, contributes to the December issue a lengthened study of Eduard von Hartmann's theories on the development of religion. Von Hartmann is widely and unfavourably known by his "*Philosophie des Unbewussten*." In his latest book on "*The Religious Conscience of Mankind*," he sets himself to trace the history of religion, the origin of which, according to him, is to be found in irrational animals. They are endowed with religion, and it is from their feelings and sentiments that the religion of mankind has been gradually developed. Of course, the highest pitch of religion is Hartmann's own philosophical system, which denies the existence of God, and places the happiness of mankind in a return to "*Nirvana*." This latest book teems with blasphemies against the Christian religion, the high standard of whose morals seems only to provoke his fury.

The Salmanticenses.—We next notice two solid and valuable articles on the Vatican manuscripts of the Salamanca theologians of the sixteenth century, which will be also found serviceable towards the history of scholastic theology since the Council of Trent. These articles describe the course of studies followed by Domingo de Soto in the University of Paris, where at that time the systems of realism and nominalism were in the balance, and his theological reputation as professor at Salamanca, where, by his marvellous accomplishments, he won for himself the *Cátedra de Vesperas*. Our author quotes largely from the unpublished Vatican "*Diarium S. Concilii Tridentini per me Angelum Massarellum ipsius con cillii Secretarium*." He also describes Soto's activity in the deliberations of the fathers of the Council. At Trent he had several times interviews with Cardinal Pole. And during the month of September, 1547, his advice was much sought by the Legates whilst the decree on Justification was being planned. The Ottoboniana in the Vatican is in possession of not a few treatises by Soto. These are here accurately described. They certainly ought to be published without delay. The second article deals with the great Dominican, Melchior Cano, the celebrated author of the "*Loci Theologici*," and Archbishop Bartholomew Carranza. Caballero has written the "*Vida del Illmo, Melchor Cano*" (Madrid, 1871), but was not able to use the Vatican manuscripts, which contain Cano's commentaries on

St. Thomas's Summa and other valuable writings. We trust these articles will be continued, as they are of incalculable value towards the history of the great theological movement begun at Trent.

The Rev. Dr. Bautz comments on two explanations of the Apocalypse recently brought out in Germany, and inveighs against any interpretation which might tend to support anything like a millennium. To the same number I contributed an article on the third plenary Council of Baltimore.

2. Historisch-politische Blätter.

The Origin of the Diaconate.—The January number contains a review of Dr. Seidl's work on "The Order of Deacon," which well deserves perusal. It is a common opinion, which some Catholics also hold, that the "septem" of Acts vi. were not at all deacons, but priests, the Order of Deacon being still included in the priesthood, and only later on dissociated from it. Dr. Seidl, by powerful arguments, proves this opinion to be untenable.

Frederick William IV.—The same number dwells at some length on the recent work of Baron von Reumont, the celebrated Catholic historian of the city of Rome, "*Aus König Friedrich Wilhelm's IV. gesunden und Kranken Tagen.*" On account of his talents as an historian, no less than for his position in the department of Foreign Affairs, and as Prussian Minister to the Holy See and the Court of Florence, Baron von Reumont was held in the highest esteem by the King. And in this volume he has raised an imperishable monument to the noble monarch whose too short reign will ever be blessed by Prussian Catholics. From it we gather much trustworthy information on Berlin society, life at Court, the king's disposition to promote art and science, his sense of piety, and his justice towards his Catholic subjects. The high esteem in which Pius IX. was constantly held by this King shows well enough that, under the reign of this monarch, deeply impressed as he was by the Christian religion, anything like a "*Kulturkampf*" would have been quite impossible. In his official career, Baron von Reumont had frequent intercourse with Baron von Bunsen, and he gives a graphic description of Bunsen's unfortunate proceedings, both as a diplomatist in Rome and as a theological writer. From Baron von Reumont's book we also learn that it was in the carriage of Baron von Arnim, the Prussian Ambassador to the Holy See, that Father Theiner conveyed out of the Vatican archives the acts of the Council of Trent, which, without the permission of Pius IX., he afterwards brought out at Agram.

The Franciscans in Bolivia.—A work, recently published by the Franciscans at Quaracchi, near Florence, deserves special mention. It is entitled "*El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones. Noticias históricas recogidas por dos misioneros del*

mismo colegio." Quaracchi. 1884. Tarija, in Bolivia, one of the largest Franciscan convents in South America, was one of the most influential in the conversion of the infidels of that country. A Spanish manuscript, dating from the beginning of this century, is used in giving us a vivid and attractive picture of the unwearied zeal of the Franciscan monks in propagating Christianity. Next to religion this work is a valuable contribution to ethnology; for the friars, to whom we owe the MS., were keen observers of the customs, religious habits, and still more the languages of those rude peoples.

O. Klopp's Fall of the House of Stuart.—The critical article on vol. xi. of Onno Klopp's work, "*Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Gross Britannien*," should have special interest for English historians. The author is here occupied with only two years, 1704 and 1705; but his treatment is as full and accurate as one would anticipate from such a veteran in the art of writing history. His leading object here is to explode the opinion of those who would make of Louis XIV. a great hero, asserting the rights of the Catholic Church and of religious liberty. On the contrary, according to Klopp, it was just the French King who, but for the immense exertions of William III., the English nation and their faithful ally, the German Emperor, would have enslaved any sort of liberty throughout Europe. The important question as to who devised the campaign to the Danube in 1704 is answered by Dr. Klopp quite differently from English authors. It did not originate with General Marlborough, but with Count Wratislaw, Imperial Ambassador to the Court of St. James. A large number of unpublished documents in the Imperial Archives at Vienna irrefragably establish the fact that only after repeated conferences with the Imperial diplomatist was Marlborough initiated into this far-reaching device, adopting it thereupon.

3. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

Saints of High Degree.—In the January number Father Knobler contributes a complete account of the saints who belonged to princely families in the course of the Middle Ages. In those rude times, when whole countries rang with baronial feuds, the appreciation and sense of sanctity was as keen in the people as at any other period of Christian history. And we meet with a vast number of saints of both sexes in those very ranks of society which are most exposed to the perils and temptations of the world. Catholic England is nobly represented in this album of mediæval saints.

A Pre-Molinist Molina.—F. Pesch brings forward a Molina before Molina. Didacus Deza, of the Dominican Order, professor of theology in the Cathedral Primaria of Salamanca, and afterwards Archbishop of Seville, died in 1523 as Archbishop of Toledo. During his residence in Seville he brought out his "*Novarum defensionum*

doctrinae angelici doctoris. . . . quaestiones profundissimae." The extracts which F. Pesch adduces from this work doubtless establish the fact that in explaining St. Thomas, Daza is in perfect harmony with Molina, whilst at the same time he reproves the system of "praedeterminatio physica."

F. Heller treats on the Nestorian monument in Singan Fu, whilst F. Straub contributes a series of very thoughtful and appropriate remarks on the manner in which the great scholastics handled their teaching concerning angels. Modern spiritism seems to call for an exhaustive treatment of this chapter of dogmatic theology. F. Grisar has a learned critique on Presutti's "Regesti di Onorio III." (Rome, 1884). This first volume falls short of what one would expect from a scholar working in the neighbourhood of the Vatican.

4. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Queen Mary's Marriage to Bothwell.—After an article by Father Lehmkuhl on "Interest and Usury," and another by Father Hagen on the desirability of adopting the Universal Meridian, we come to an interesting and instructive survey of recent German literature concerning Mary Queen of Scots. Here Father Dreves is not in agreement with the Hon. Colin Lindsay's pamphlet on that unfortunate Queen. As to myself I adopt Lindsay's opinion as to the invalidity of Bothwell's marriage with Jane Gordon, though not at all for the reasons which he adduces. The fact of the marriage being contracted before a Protestant parson is no proof against its validity, since the decree of Trent on clandestinity has not to this day been promulgated in Scotland. Hence that part of the instrument of dispensation which allows that the nuptials "et in facie ecclesiae solemnizare possint" cannot be interpreted as involving a condition *sine quâ non*. Such interpretation would be destitute of foundation, since the phrase shows a mere permission, and ought to be explained according to the practice generally adopted by the Roman congregations. But the Legate's dispensation, and, therefore, also the marriage of Bothwell and Gordon, is to be held null and void on the score of the impediment of mixed religion which was not dispensed by Archbishop Hamilton. Bothwell avowedly and decidedly was a strong Protestant, hence there were *two impediments* to be removed, and (what is deserving of close attention) that in the same document. Since the Legate omitted to act up to this rule, the document of dispensation appears to be null. But *why* this was done, whether voluntarily or from mere mistake, is a question not easily decided. It is equally impossible to suspect the Legate either of insincerity or of ignorance of canon law, and of facts generally known throughout Scotland. For he ever showed himself to be a staunch defender of the Church and canonical law. Taking, as I feel

obliged to do, this view of the prelate, I agree with the Hon. Colin Lindsay in considering the document still existing in Dunrobin Castle to be a forgery.

Monumenta Pædagogica.—We have, last of all, to bring before the reader's notice a grand enterprise now being started at Berlin. The "*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*" are to be gathered into one vast collection, and to Father Pachtler has fallen the task of collecting all documents relating to the course of studies in the old Jesuit colleges. Hence he appeals to any scholars who may be possessed of such books as the "*Ratio Studiorum*," or "*Dramata in scholis S.J. per Germaniam exhibita*" to lend them for a time for use in the work he has undertaken.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica. 17 Gennain, 1885.

Biblical and Assyrian Chronology.—There has been a succession of interesting articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* from time to time with reference to the lately deciphered Assyrian and Babylonian annals, especially as compared with the Old Testament narrative. The number mentioned above deals with the apparent difficulty of reconciling certain Biblical chronological statements with the cuneiform inscriptions on some of these historic stones. The writer cannot for a moment coincide with those who, in order to escape from these and similar dilemmas, would assert that Scripture is divinely inspired only where its object is to instruct us in religious truth, and that in other matters the writers were left entirely to themselves, liable to fall into such errors on questions of fact as the ignorance of their times or the deficiency of accurate information might entail; for instance, questions of chronology or such as have a scientific bearing. This he cannot admit, but conceives that a distinction must be drawn. Scripture, as it issued from the pen of inspiration, is one thing, and Scripture, as it exists in its modern text, another. In the first case it is repugnant to us to believe that the Holy Spirit would have permitted errors of fact to be intermingled with revealed truth; but in the second we have the authority of the Fathers, and of most of the interpreters of Scripture, for readily granting that in things of slight moment, touching neither dogma, nor morality, nor the substance of the history, some errors, particularly as regards chronology, may have crept in through the inadvertence of copyists, for it would be unreasonable to exact that God by a perpetual miracle—and nothing short of a miraculous aid could have secured entire exemption from such slight inaccuracies—should have afforded the same assistance to all the transcribers of Biblical codices in the minutest matters as He did to the sacred writers themselves. He quotes, in support of this view, St. Jerome and St. Augustine among the Fathers, as

well as Bellarmine and other eminent theologians and commentators on Scripture down to the present day.

No one, therefore, can be judged temerarious should he suppose that some such errors exist in the Vulgate, especially in the matter of chronology, where a mistake in the numerals might so easily happen. We have but to consider the very considerable discrepancy on this point between the Hebrew version, from which the Vulgate is taken, and the Septuagint, which is also of high authority. The Church, moreover, has never defined anything with regard to the chronology of the Vulgate; it is unwise, therefore, to say the least, to make exaggerated claims for the minutest accuracy on such points in the received version of Scripture which the Church herself has never made. With regard to the discrepancy between the Biblical chronology relating to the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah and existing Assyrian monuments, it is found principally during the period included between the eleventh and sixth centuries before Christ, and this discrepancy is the sole immediate object with which the writer is occupied. Many of these discrepancies, however, seem to admit of reasonable explanation, and he quotes from learned Scripture commentators, such as Cornelius à Lapide, Melchior Cano, and others, instances which show that there is no need to have recourse to the supposition of error in copyists. We refer our readers to the pages of the review for particulars. A second article appeared in the number for February 21. The writer considers that the principles which he lays down will greatly facilitate a concordance between the Biblical and Assyrian records, but, as he has simply cleared the way for their application, and has promised a third article in which results will be stated, we postpone further notice.

21 Febbraio.

A Glance at Spiritism.—Four of the Austrian Archdukes believe that they have unmasked Spiritism, and one of them, the Archduke John, has published an amusing account of the clever trick by which he and his brothers detected a celebrated medium of the name of Bastian in the act of counterfeiting a phantom while he was supposed to be reclining in a state of magnetic sleep in an adjoining apartment concealed by a curtain. The exposure was complete; a *procès verbal* was drawn up and signed by all present. So far so good, and no objection can be taken to the first fifty-six pages of the little volume in which the Austrian prince has described the transaction, but when he proceeds to draw unauthorized conclusions from it, the *Civiltà Cattolica* has something, and indeed a good deal, to say on the subject. It is one thing to hold that there are jugglers and impostors amongst professing mediums—some of whom, we may observe by the way, have proved themselves to be very inferior in skill to several performers in that line who lay no

claim to the aid of preternatural influences—and quite another to make the sweeping assertion that therefore all so-called spiritists are mere conjurors, and all the manifestations of spiritism a fraud and a hoax. Such a conclusion is in no wise warranted by the premisses, and, when the mass of incontrovertible evidence on which the reality of such manifestations, taken collectively, rests is considered, it must be pronounced to be utterly unreasonable and opposed to common-sense. Yet many Catholics are well content to acquiesce in this superficial view, the mischievous consequences of which deserve to be clearly pointed out, for, if modern Spiritism be mere jugglery, then not a few will be encouraged to indulge their curiosity freely on the subject, believing that in so doing they incur no peril and violate no duty.

We should advise any one who doubts the reality of modern magic and the existence of magicians in this nineteenth century to peruse this article. Admitting, as the writer does, that there have been impostors among the professing mediums, a thing *à priori* highly probable and, indeed, sure to occur, can the fact be taken to explain away the enormous mass of phenomena, plainly contrary to all the laws of Nature, which are manifesting themselves continually in all parts of the world, phenomena of which any one who witnesses them, whether ignorant or learned, is equally competent to form a rational judgment? To deny the value of such judgment would be to condemn ourselves to a perpetual scepticism as to all that falls under the cognizance of the senses. Moreover, the reviewer shows that this would also be to reject the testimony of all past ages, since in all times we hear of similar facts under divers designations: answers of oracles, Pythonesses, Sybils, divination, necromancy, magic, which are but various names for one and the same thing, that which we now call Spiritism. To deny this would be ridiculous; and the Archduke is too well read in history to attempt to do so, but then he would class all under the same head, and refer all to clever trickery, like that of the medium whom he is so delighted to have unmasked. But not only do all ages combine in the same testimony, travellers and missionaries give similar witness with regard to the barbarous and savage races of the earth in these days, amongst whom sorcery and other demoniacal practices are universal. Those who, like our missionaries—men, too, of culture in philosophy and often in natural science—have had close opportunity of observing these practices, laugh at the notion of accounting for the phenomena by mere sleight of hand and jugglery, and affirm the patent intervention of preternatural causes.

After making, then, the largest allowance for imposture amongst mediums and their representatives in heathen lands, known as der-vishes, fakirs, bonzes, diviners, sorcerers, medicine-men, and after admitting that a certain number of mesmeric phenomena can and have been imitated, still when we consider the vast accumulation of manifestations witnessed by persons belonging to every class (scientific and medical included) in all parts of the world, and com-

pletely baffling all natural interpretation, to suppose that all these witnesses have been the dupes of mere charlatanism is not simply improbable in the highest degree, but even impossible and absurd.

3 Gennaio and 7 Febbraio.

Present State of Linguistic Studies.—Along with a sprinkling of articles upon topics of political and social character, treated in their connection with religious interests, the *Civiltà Cattolica* has usually in hand, besides a story with a like bearing, one or more subjects which appear at intervals in a consecutive series. One of these, "The Present State of Linguistic Studies," has been in progress for a considerable time. Two articles have appeared this year. The first is mainly concerned with Sayce's arguments against linguistic evolution. He holds that it is against the psychological nature of man to pass from one language to another intrinsically different, as the evolutionist theorists maintain to have been the case; man, they say, having progressed from the monosyllabic to the agglutinative form, and thence to the flexive, the most perfect. No proof whatsoever can be alleged as to this transformation—nay, all existing proof looks in a contrary direction. There is every appearance, for instance, that the Aryan languages were flexive from the remotest antiquity, and agglutinative languages, such as the Finnish, appear to have continued the same in character as they were in early ages. He regards it as an error to suppose all men are cast in a like mould; he holds, on the contrary, that different races have had different tendencies and capacities. The evolutionist would have it that, as civilization progressed, mankind made a perpetual progress towards the flexive form of language. This is, he contends, contrary to facts. Chinese civilization is the oldest now existing in the world. Its origin is lost in mythical antiquity. Yet the Chinese tongue has not advanced one step from the isolated or monosyllabic form, the meaning of sentences being determined by the position and tone, not by any adjunct or modification of the separate words.

Articles of this nature do not lend themselves to compendious and brief analysis. Readers who are interested in such subjects we refer to their able treatment in this review. The second article, which appeared on February 7, treats mainly of roots, where one is met at the very threshold by the difficulty of defining what a root really is. If the non-scientific reader believes he had some vague conception of its nature, he will be shaken, we think, in his conviction after perusing a few pages of this learned article. Yet it seems imperative to define a term clearly before you can build up an argument upon it. Glottologists—the somewhat uneuphonistic appellation by which linguistic scientists appear to be now generally known—differ on this as on most other kindred topics. It is a veritable confusion of Babel which they exhibit.

17 *Gennaio*.

Natural Sciences.—The Abbé Cauderan, professor at the Seminary of Montlieu, bids fair to equal his celebrated colleague and predecessor, the Abbé Richard, in his wonderful power of discovering subterranean waters. The latter is reported to have discovered no less than 11,000 hidden sources, and his mantle seems to have fallen on his successor, who, however, being attached by his office to the seminary, has not the same opportunities for acquiring a world-wide reputation. Nevertheless, his discoveries in France, and also in Italy, have been already sufficiently numerous and striking to attract attention. One might believe him to be possessed of a divining-rod, such extraordinary power has he manifested of pointing out the existence of concealed springs of water. Of course he proceeds upon a certain combination of indications; but to judge of these, as he does, must require a gift of discernment and comparison which no mere scientific study could impart in such perfection. His method of proceeding is to ascend to some high ground, whence he surveys the surrounding neighbourhood, and can almost always point out accurately the spots where are actual springs, known to the country people. At the same time he indicates points where he believes that water is likely to be found. When sometimes apparently at fault in the former case, he will be afterwards found to be really in the right, the fountain having been diverted either naturally or artificially from its true source. Referring to the places where he considers springs will be found, he indicates the precise spot where the excavations are to be made, stating the depth at which the water will be reached and its probable abundance. The reviewer gives a few striking instances of his success, and mentions, in particular, the benefit which two large towns, Bordeaux and Saintes, will have derived from him in the shape of increased water supply.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Paris. Janvier, 1885.

Origen and New Testament Textual Criticism.—The leading article in this number is a long one from the Abbé Martin, headed "*Origène et la Critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*," in which he further unfolds his convictions as to the value of certain codices of the New Testament (known as *Æ, A, B, C, D, &c.*) of which he had already spoken in the July number. Of his article of July we gave a brief account in October last, and will here only add that the Abbé's then promised volume on the subject has reached us at the last moment, but shall receive due attention from us next quarter.

Other articles of this number worth mentioning, but which we may only mention, are "*Le Gouvernement représentatif en France*"

au XIV. Siècle," by M. Noël Valois; "La Seconde Guerre Civile. La Paix de Lonjumeau," by the Comte H. de la Ferrière; "Un Arbitrage Pontifical au XVI. Siècle; Mission diplomatique de Possevino à Moscou," by Père Pierling, S.J.; and also a short paper, "Le Cardinal Fisher," in which M. Albert du Boys, already known by his work on Catherine of Arragon, gives the French reader a pleasant sketch of Fisher's devoted life and saintly death, using in his sketch such new details as recent State-paper publications have added to previous knowledge.

La Controverse. Lyon et Paris. 15 Janvier, 15 Février, 1885.

Was Philip the Arabian the First Christian Emperor?—In an article in the January number of this magazine, which is the second part of a study on "Les Chrétiens après Septime-Sévère," M. Paul Allard accepts as conclusive the testimony in favour of Philip having been a Christian. Probably, too, he was a Christian by birth, Christianity having reached in company with civilization the mountains of the Lejja in the Trachonitis, where he was born. M. Allard sees no reason to doubt the incident told by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccl." vi. 34), of his wishing, as a Christian, to assist at prayers in the Church on Easter Eve, and having been forbidden by the then bishop to enter until he had confessed and done penance. This took place at Antioch in 244; Eusebius, St. John Chrysostom, and the Chronicon Alexandriæ each telling the event apparently from different sources, St. Chrysostom giving the Bishop's name, St. Babylas, and the Chronicon adding that the Empress Otacilia Severa was with her husband and had to share in his exclusion and penance. M. Allard discusses also the nature and extent of Philip's share in the Secular Games, urged by so many as a proof that the Emperor was not a Christian; and he points to the omission of the gladiatorial combats on that occasion as conclusive rather the other way. The article, it need not be said, is full of erudition; it is also pleasant reading.

Protestant "Religious" in the United States.—In this opening article of the February number the word "religious" is used in our Catholic acceptance, as signifying members of a Religious Order; and the writer, M. H. Gabriels, takes occasion from the "solemn profession" of a young Anglican, the son of an Episcopalian bishop in New York, in December last, to give us some very interesting statistics of the "Episcopalian" religious Orders of men and women now flourishing in the United States. Many of the sisterhoods appear to have originated in our own country—as the filiations from Clewer, East Grinstead, &c.; but some are native to the soil though planned on similar lines, whilst one of the total of sixteen different Orders enumerated here is peculiar to the States,—*"The Sisters of St. Mary and All Saints,"* Baltimore, receive, we read, only members of the African race (negroes). Congregations of men, the writer observes, are fewer and less popular. One of the two

"Orders" mentioned in this article is that of the Holy Cross, an American imitation of the Anglican body of the same name, which numbers two "Fathers," one of whom has now startled, not so much Catholic onlookers, so long accustomed to these studious imitations of the more-than-ever despised and reviled Roman Church, as Protestants themselves. For the Rev. J. Huntington (whose name is of course misspelled in a French magazine) has actually taken the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. "Do you renounce solemnly and for ever all you possess, and all you might acquire in the future, even personal use of a small thing, in conformity with the vow of poverty?" said Bishop Potter to the son of Bishop Huntington. And the novice replied (solemnly and for ever, we feel little doubt), "I do renounce them"—we quote the French account—and so on with the remaining vows. The French writer concludes with some kindly words of sympathy with these enthusiastic but surely strange "Protestants," whose hunger for better things leads them to this imitation of our peculiar institutions. We agree with him; but when he reads, as we do in the *Tablet* of March 7, that Bishop Lee, the president, having administered a brotherly but strong protest against the vows as being Romanism yet too strong, Bishop Potter has replied in self-defence that the vows which he administered on this famous occasion "were explicitly acknowledged to be revocable, either at my own discretion or at the request of him who took them"—he will probably feel with us some wonder that earnest and single-minded men and women can any longer go on with this Romanizing farce, when their own leaders thus play fast and loose with categoric and solemn words uttered by them as in the presence of God, making vows towards keeping which His grace is solemnly asked! Fancy marriage vows, of which the young bride may say, quoting Bishop Potter, "They are revocable, either at my own discretion or at the request of him who [also] made them!"

Among other articles worth mentioning in *La Controverse* are two on the Copts by Père Autefage, S.J., in the January and February numbers, which go over much the same ground as our recent article. In the January number Père Brucker, S.J., finishes his study on "L'Etendue de l'Inspiration des Livres Saints," in which he contends against any theory of limited inspiration as against the mind of the Church, the sentiment of the Fathers (even of Origen), and as not needed by the requirements of scientific controversy. It is a thoughtful article, and students will be glad to know of it. In the February number we have the first portions of two very different studies, both of which in their way promise to be interesting: one by Professor A. Dupont, of Louvain, on "Les Peines Eternelles de l'Enfer," and the other by M. Léon de Monnier, on the "Fondation de l'Ordre des Mineurs."

Revue Générale. Bruxelles. Février, 1885.

The Crisis in Belgium.—Three articles of this month's *Revue Générale* being concerned with the Belgium of the passing moment alike borrow a somewhat sad and desponding tone from the present political outlook. They none of them go over the same line as our article on Belgium this quarter, and shall therefore be briefly mentioned. M. L. Le Maire writes "De la Mission sociale de l'Armée," an article which has an interesting sketch and comparison of the French and German armies. The great social action of an army is to give *security*—one of the first needs of a society. To fulfil worthily this social mission it should be patriotic. The Belgian army is of the people, among whom the feeling of veneration for the throne is being threatened by revolutionary sentiment. One need of the Belgian army dwelt on, is that the better classes should give their sons to be among its officers: at present the young men hold aloof from it "in an idleness which is ruining them;" the *bourgeoise* supplies all the officers. The clergy and many Belgian families are prejudiced against the army, and regard it as a school of libertinism. This, replies the writer, is a souvenir of the wars of the Republic and the Empire, and of the licence which then held sway in camps. Those times, he assures us, are past; "the career of arms offers now in truth no more danger, under this head, than any other career whatever." The other articles are: "La Représentation des Minorités en Belgique," by M. Raymond de Kerchove, which is a plea for proportional representation, and "La Belgique devant l'Europe," by M. Joseph Heq. Belgium must not forget that Europe is now merely a collection of stronger States swallowing up weaker ones. Bismark once said to the Emperor Napoleon, pointing to Belgium, "écrasez ce nid de démagogues." The nest of demagogues, adds the writer, "has not disappeared." He exhorts Belgium to become a nation, and to remember Poland, "mémorable exemple d'un peuple qui se suicide," the Poles themselves *beginning* by civil discord that ruin which others completed for them.

The Bollandists and their Libraries.—This is the most interesting literary article in the same number of the *Revue Générale*. It gives a sketch of the vicissitudes and labours of the famous company from its origin to the present date, in which most readers, we fancy, will find something new worth knowing. There is a good sketch of Rosweyde, who really began the work, which by a freak of fortune is not known by his name. Among the vast literary undertakings of other European nations—England's "Records," Germany's "Monumenta" of Pertz, Italy's Muratori, and the rest—Belgium's is the one that is more than merely national in its interest; it has the glory of belonging to the history of the whole world. The "Musée Bollandien," where these Belgian Jesuits work, is a colossal accumulation of manuscripts, books, and documents of every sort. Three immense halls, with intervening galleries, scarcely contain the forty-five thousand volumes—which

are, besides, not the sort of books to be found in every library. But neither is this fine collection so rare or precious as that which the older Bollandists had gathered from every nation of Europe, and which was finally scattered before the baneful Revolution, having been previously, in part at least, moved to the abbey of Tongerlo, after the suppression of the Society in 1773, and the closing of the "Musée" at Antwerp, or rather its conversion into a military school. The books went to the hammer, Tongerlo buying a large portion of them. A commission had decided in 1773 that the "Acta Sanctorum" "did not appear to be fitted to spread intellectual light and knowledge;" in 1780 Joseph II., on an unworthy report of an ecclesiastical commission, finally suppressed the Bollandists and their labours. Napoleon as early as 1801 sought to re-establish them; in 1810, when he renewed the attempt, it was reported to him that two indispensable factors in a resumption of the "Acta" were not to be had—the hagiographers and their documents. In 1837, the Jesuits, yielding to many entreaties, recommenced the work, the Belgian Government granting six thousand francs annually. They were to publish a volume every four years, but so gigantic was the task of renewing labour in their thorough fashion that the first volume of the New Bollandists did not appear till 1845. This volume was the seventh for the month of October, and the fifty-fourth volume of the whole work. The eighth for October appeared in 1853, the ninth in 1858, the tenth in 1861 and the eleventh in 1867. In this year, by the persistent efforts of M. Hymans, member for Brussels, the annual grant of six thousand francs was withdrawn; for sixteen years the work stood still, nearly all the labourers dying in succession. The present Bollandists include: Pères Guillaume Van Hoof, Joseph de Backer and Charles de Smedt, the latter being the "Ancient." The directive labours of the "Ancient" are described in this interesting article. It is worth reading throughout, as narrating in readable form the most splendid and certain literary monument which Europe has produced—a truly gigantic undertaking, "which will take altogether not less than four centuries to properly complete"—and which could only have been carried out by the devotion and self-sacrifice of a Religious Order.

Notices of Books.

The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Second and enlarged Edition. By JOHN MORRIS, of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.

A NEW edition of Father Morris's admirable Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury was much required. The reasons for it cannot be better stated than in his own words. The first was published in

1859, and for twenty years it has been out of print. During that interval there has appeared in great abundance fresh matter for a Life of the great English Martyr. Six volumes of the Rolls Series, entitled "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury," Canon Robertson's valuable edition of Dr. Giles's "Letters," and Mr. Magnusson's "Thomas Saga Erkibyskups," with its excellent Preface, are among the principal publications which Father Morris has now had to work upon. The result is a volume half as large again as the original work, written up to the latest and best sources of information.

The life of St. Thomas seems, at first sight, to be almost wholly the history of the struggle between the Crown and the Church. But now that we are coming to learn with greater and greater minuteness the details of his life both before and after his consecration, we are realizing more and more the individuality of the man and his heroic stature both in the natural order and in the supernatural. A proof of this is seen in the fact that no less than two dramatic works of first-class pretensions have taken St. Thomas as their hero within the past ten years. Lord Tennyson's is a poor and Protestant picture of the great Archbishop. He is only a politician with a dash of Evangelicalism. But Mr. Aubrey de Vere has given us the man and the saint. We have his great aspirations, his honesty, his quickness of temper, his repentance, his love of the poor, his zeal, and his English heart.

My mother England,

Be not thou wroth against thine exiled son,
Against his will exultant; God who proves us
Wills us not less our triumph's little hour.
That time, that time shall come, my mother England,
When, with a mightier joy, thy son, returned,
Shall hail thy hoary cliffs, the invader's dread;
Thy fields and farms and forests, convent-crowned;
Thy minsters gathering, as the parent bird
Gathers her young, the growing cities round them;—
Thine honest, valiant, and industrious race,
So Christian-like in manners and in mind,
So grave in deeds, and yet so merryhearted,
And in their plainness kind,—once more shall greet them,
With mightier joy, though hastening to his death,
Than now he greets his freedom.*

Father Morris's pages are a commentary on these words. Modern writers, such as Dean Stanley and Mr. Freeman, are lamentably inadequate to writing the life of a saint. With them there is no allowance made for the work done by grace—the change made in the natural character by the operation of the Holy Spirit. If St. Thomas was worldly, profuse and somewhat unscrupulous in dealing with the spirituality during his Chancellorship, his subsequent opposition to the King is set down as mere natural impatience or vanity. But a Catholic writer holds the key of a life like this. St. Thomas was good, if not

* "Thomas à Becket," p. 81.

holy, even in his courtly and political life; but when the mitre was placed on his head, he was a "converted" man. The aged Henry of Winchester said to him in Canterbury Cathedral, the moment after he had laid his hands upon his head, "Dearest brother, I give you now the choice of two things; beyond a doubt you must lose the favour of the earthly or of the heavenly King." Raising his hands and eyes to heaven, as he knelt before his consecrator, St. Thomas said, so earnestly that both he and the Bishop of Winchester wept, "By God's help and strength, I now make my choice, and never for the love and favour of an earthly king will I forego the grace of the Kingdom of heaven." He made his choice; and the rest of his life was the working out of a soul's perfection and of a saint's heroism. The progress of the Martyr's career is traced by Father Morris, as our readers well know, with an insight and a devotion which are to mere history and word-painting what fire and warmth are to substance and colour. At the same time, Father Morris has exhausted, in his work, all the materials which can be found. It was, we believe, when he was Canon of Northampton that he wrote and published the first edition of the *Life*; and there are one or two pages about Northampton, in its connection with certain glorious passages of the Saint's history, which show that he felt he was writing the *Life* of his own patron Saint.

The following day, Tuesday, the 13th of October, was one of great moment in the life of St. Thomas, in the history of the Church in England, and, it might be added, of the town in which these great events happened; for it is owing to the heroism of St. Thomas on that day shown at Northampton that the diocese of which that old town is now the See has been placed under his patronage. The town yet bears traces of its ancient devotion to St. Thomas in its hospital and its well, which bear his name; and the very castle in its ruins is revered by a Catholic, not for its older glories and royal pageantry, but because it was hallowed by the trial of St. Thomas. The blessed Saint cannot but look down with favour on the scene of the struggle, which he called, after St. Paul and the early martyrs, "fighting with beasts;" especially since it has been placed under his protection by the Rome that he loved, by the Holy Apostolic See whose champion he there was. (P. 165.)

Some of our readers may recollect how Bishop Milner, when the first edition of Lingard's "*History*" appeared, took indignant exception to his treatment of the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The eminent Catholic historian had said that (at Pontigny) "his opinions became tinged with enthusiasm, he identified his cause with that of God and the Church; concession appeared to him like apostasy." Speaking of the publication of the letters of excommunication against the Archbishop of York and others, Lingard says that, having at first intended to suppress them, he made them public in "a moment of irritation"—a "precipitate and unfortunate measure." And again, in summing up St. Thomas's career, he says that he died "a martyr to what he deemed to be his duty—the preservation of the immunities of the Church." Father Morris has not thought proper to take notice of these expressions and views. We think that in one instance at least—the publication of the letters of excommunication—there is

abundant evidence that Lingard misread the facts; and we could have wished that Father Morris had referred to the matter. But it is true that to notice all the perverted "views" of the career and conduct of St. Thomas of Canterbury would have been an endless task.

This new edition is furnished with two ground-plans of Canterbury Cathedral, and is illustrated by numerous notes. A very interesting account of the biographers of St. Thomas introduces the volume.

Characteristics, Political, Philosophical, and Religious, from the Writings of Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

Arranged by WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. London: Burns & Oates.

MR. LILLY has in this volume done for the writings of our Cardinal Archbishop the same popularizing office which he did in his now well-known volume for those of Cardinal Newman. It is almost superfluous to add that the selection *is*, thanks to Mr. Lilly's good judgment, characteristic. Readers with little leisure, and others with less means, may here find in one volume well-chosen pieces, of generally a couple of pages in length, on exactly those topics on which they are most likely to have a desire to hear what his Eminence has said. Under the heading "Political," they will find treated the relations of Church and State, the Kulturkampf, the Temporal Power, the Rights of Women, Disestablishment, and many others; under "Philosophical," the relations of Religion and Science, the Nature of Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion; and lastly, under "Religious," the not least interesting extracts dealing with the controversial questions of the day, the Misconceptions of Catholicity, the Nature of the Church, &c. &c. We are sure that the extracts will lead many to read further in the works from which the more striking of them have been taken.

La Messe. Études archéologiques sur ses Monuments. Par Ch. ROHAULT DE FLEURY. Continué par son fils. Vol. III. Paris: Morel. 1883.

THE third volume of this handsome work does not in any way fall below the high standard attained by its predecessors. With the same profusion of finely executed plates and the same apparatus of carefully collated authorities, the author proceeds to trace the history of the ambo, or raised tribune, from which in early times the gospel was read, of the chancel or partition separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church, the iconostasis, the rood-screen, the sacristy, the piscina, the choir, and, finally, the church as a whole, including in the treatment of this last-named subject a useful conspectus of the ground plans of the various forms of early Christian churches of both the chief rites down to the ninth century.

M. Rohault de Fleury seems to favour more than do many modern writers the recognition of a Jewish origin for divers of the objects connected with the celebration of the divine liturgy. Thus he con-

siders, with Millin, that the use of pulpits in Christian churches is derived from the raised bench in the Synagogue whereon the Rabbis are seated before a desk. In the temples of classic antiquity there was no use for such a structure. St. Basil, St. Augustin, and other early writers allude to the ambo, and very ancient delineations of it are found, perhaps most frequently in representations of the benediction of the Paschal Candle, a very early institution. In many cases, indeed, a richly sculptured candlestick is a fixture structurally connected with the ambo. Accounts of early rituals, indeed, mention the extinction of the candles at the conclusion of the gospel. Examples of the fixed candlestick are furnished by the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Clement in Rome. The refinements of art and costliness of material were lavished on the tribune whence God's Word was delivered to the people. The golden ambo, well known to tourists as one of the lions of Aix-la-Chapelle, still bears witness to the pious munificence of the Emperor Henry II., whilst the beautiful design and elaborate sculpture of pulpits such as those to be seen at Pisa, Pistoja, Siena, and other Italian cities, and many of which are delicately reproduced in M. de Fleury's plates, equally attest the efforts of art to evince the worth and dignity of the later pulpit. In earlier times the preacher's attitude was sessile and the faithful were exhorted from the pastor's chair, which is so characteristic a monument of the primitive church.*

M. de Fleury adopts, in the absence of any adequate term, the word *iconostasis* for the partition—in early times an open one—which separated the bema, or part set apart for the clergy from the body of the Church. The most ancient monument of this structure he finds in a fragment of marble discovered in the Catacombs and preserved in the Museum of the Lateran. It is merely an architrave supported by two columns, the central interval being wholly open to admit of passage, while the two lateral intercolumniations are closed by a low trellis, "cancelli," and curtains dependent from the beam are looped aside. Vestiges of a somewhat similar arrangement are found in the chapel of St. Sixtus, Cemetery of Calixtus, and in the ancient Basilicas of St. Reparatus at Orléansville and the early rock-hewn Basilica of St. Januarius in the catacombs of Naples, figured in plate ccxxxix. (unfortunately misprinted ccxxix.). All these monuments are probably anterior to the fifth century.

With the expansion of the Church and her public recognition in the fourth and succeeding centuries, the partition or *septum*, subsequently *iconostasis*, attained a magnificent development, finely exemplified, among other instances, by that which existed in the Basilica of St. Peter and, as described in the "*Liber Pontificalis*," constituted a sort of portico before the altar. The columns which composed it are still preserved. According to a remarkable tradition, they originally belonged to the Temple of Jerusalem, and were brought to Rome by Constantine, though Panvinio believes them to have come from Greece. They are spiral and covered with elaborate carving of birds and vines

* See our observations on vol. ii. in the number of this Review for last October.

in very low relief, and certainly date back to classic antiquity. They served as Rafael's model for the columns of the Temple in his well-known design of the Apostles Paul and James healing the lame man (Acts iii.). No vestiges of the entablature which surmounted them are extant, and our author considers there may have been none until, early in the sixth century, Hormisdas "fecit . . . apud Beatum Petrum trabem, quam ex argento cooperiuit, pens. lib. MCCCXL."

The employment of detached columns, topped by statues, is, of course, quite in harmony with later Roman architectural usage, and colonnades of such isolated pillars may, as M. de Fleury's researches tend to show, have at one time been constructed in churches. Of one fact at least there is abundant evidence—viz., that the erections here classified under "iconostases," whether with or without an architrave, were anciently surmounted by statues, thus suggesting, as the original meaning of the term *εἰκονοστάσις*, a columnar support for sculptured images, rather than the idea now chiefly associated with it—viz., a partition or screen whereon paintings are placed, derived indeed from the earlier structure, but indebted for its characteristic development to the influence of the reaction from iconoclasm. The iconostasis was also used as a support for lights—lamps and candelabra were both planted upon it or suspended from it.

Availing himself of monuments of all kinds, written documents, miniatures and remains, in the investigation of which he has spared no pains, and drawing largely upon his own architectural and archaeological knowledge and instinct, the author has supplied restorations of the iconostases of St. John the Evangelist's at Ravenna, the Duomo of Torcello, St. Sophia at Constantinople, and other churches. Exercises of this kind can at best but result in conjecture, more or less felicitous. But while the several reconstructions here given please by their balance and harmony, and, it may be added, by the simplicity of their general effect, we are bound to admit that the author proceeds in a careful and painstaking spirit in the examination of the data from which he deduces his designs. The restoration offered of the iconostasis of St. Sophia at Constantinople is particularly elegant. It largely follows the description contained in Paul the Silentiary's account of that celebrated edifice, a composition, however, which, from its poetical form, is naturally open to great latitude of interpretation. For instance, the number of columns composing the iconostasis is given in the words *ἑξάκι δόλους*, which expression M. de Fleury, following Du Cange and other authorities, considers not merely to mean a dozen, but to imply also a geminate arrangement of the columns, which he accordingly distributes in couples disposed in a single line before the bema, and surmounted by an architrave—a feature which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, existed in the tenth century. At an earlier date the columns may have been, as some of them now remain, unconnected by any architrave; and M. de Fleury refers to the Silentiary's poem as supporting such a view. Yet it seems to us difficult to explain the lines:—

"Ἔστι καὶ ἀργυρέαις ἐπὶ κίονιν ὑψόθι κόρης
Στενὴ πυρσοφοροῖσιν ἐπίδρομος οἶμος δίταις,
Πλησιφαῆς φαιδρόισιν ἀποστίλβοντα κορύμβοις,

except as alluding to some such feature. A gangway involves an architrave of some sort, and as even the narrowest passage would require a surface of almost too much breadth to be supported with elegance by a single row of comparatively small columns, the doubt is suggested whether the columns may not have been geminated on a different plan—i.e., in a double row—which would more adequately support a gallery. Would not a similar arrangement in case of the iconostasis of St. Peter's go far to explain the passage from the "*Liber Pontificalis*": "*columnas sex onychinas volubiles duxit in ecclesiam B. Petri quas statuit circa presbyterium ante confessionem, tres a dextris et tres a sinistris juxta alias antiquas sex filitopares*"? It is not easy to see how else the onyx pillars could well have been assorted with the ancient white marble columns.

Twin columns, it should further be noticed, rarely occur in Byzantine architecture. Authority for them is, however, occasionally found in the miniatures of MSS.

The colonnades (or iconostases) which separated the sanctuary from the rest of the church continued till late in the middle ages. The example in St. Mark's at Venice dates only from the end of the fourteenth century, and is interesting as the monument of a very ancient tradition. While the East was exchanging the sumptuous marbles which once enclosed its sanctuaries for timber screens loaded with paintings, Western Europe was adopting the rood-loft, the earliest specimen of which is found at Naumburg, and may be as old as the eleventh century. The rood-loft, however, if derived from the colonnade or iconostasis of earlier centuries, resembles rather the ambo in several of its uses, for from it in some cases the epistle and gospel were chanted, solemn oaths administered, and benisons pronounced.

Besides affording a general idea of M. de Fleury's work, we were anxious to illustrate, by a more particular notice of at least one subject, the author's mode of treatment. Hence the foregoing remarks on the iconostasis. The author's practical architectural knowledge has proved of the greatest use. Imperfect remains which are meaningless to all but the expert often lead him to a valuable inference. The illustrations too are mostly drawn to scale and accompanied by measurements—an advantage which cannot be valued too highly in a work of the kind under review. Not alone the antiquary, but all who would know more of the ceremonial history of Christianity, will find matter of deep interest in these volumes, while they afford the ecclesiastical architect information of the highest value.

Il Dogma e le Scienze Positive, ossia La Missione Apologetica del Clero nel Moderno Conflitto tra la Ragione e la Fede. Da ANTONIO STOPPANI. Milano: Fratelli Dumolard. 1884.

THE considerations suggested by Antonio Stoppani in the volume before us, apart from the evidence by which he supports them, carry weight both as the opinions of a representative foreign scientist on a most momentous question, and as the deep reflections of an experienced, zealous, and pious priest. Our author believes that the want most felt by scientists of the day is that of some firm and immovable leverage point, of some truth above cavil and dispute, of a principle which may be starting-post and goal in one, a fixed star whereby to steer Science on her voyage across a pathless and treacherous ocean. The need thus expressed will be readily appreciated and endorsed by any one acquainted with the many mysteries of science. True science, so far from destroying faith, actually fosters a habit of trust and confidence. The sceptic is such, not because of his science, but from lack of the genuine scientific spirit. The sincere scientist never denies a truth because he cannot at the moment account for it: whenever he comes upon a difficult and mysterious problem he is ready to put forth all the more mind and energy to acquire fuller knowledge. Here the Catholic apologist can meet the scientist and follow him in his own field, just as the scholastics formerly followed the sceptics of their day on the field of metaphysics, and defeated their adversaries with their own weapons. If we are to succeed, as the scholastics did, we must have their appreciation of current opinion, and share in their spirit and their practical way of combating error.

Our author, in his "*Missione Apologetica del Clero*," (1) reviews the special conditions of modern scientific controversy; (2) he lays down the principles of Catholic apologetics as applied to scientific difficulties; (3) he shows the important part which the clergy must play in the controversy, and how they are to qualify themselves to play it with credit and success; (4) he dwells on the necessity of concord and mutual good-will amongst Catholic apologists. The third division introduces and answers the question, On whom devolves the duty of descending into the arena of scientific controversy? The reply is: Mainly on the clergy. The duty of defending and propagating Catholic truth is of course incumbent on all Christians without distinction of person or class. Still, many reasons bid us neither expect nor exact too much from the laity in matters of religious controversy. This implies no reproach to laymen. They are usually too much taken up by professional, secular, and family affairs to have at their command the leisure and the calmness of spirit requisite for theological and scientific meditation. The co-operation of the laity will always be a comfort and a support to the clergy, but the latter should be fully equipped by themselves, and ready on occasion to battle single-handed. Launched in the ecclesiastical life from his early youth, mixing continually with accomplished men during his college career, the priest

almost unconsciously absorbs theological thought and habits of mind. Such a one, as a rule, is best qualified to render a full, exact, and precise reason for the Faith—such a reason as may satisfy and convince a scientific mind. Hence the necessity for training our clergy in the natural sciences. Wherever there is no side of contact between the actual feelings of the laity on the one hand and the mental attitude of the clergy on the other, Religion is sure to suffer.

Outside the circle of scientists there lies, too, the wide waste of popular irreligiousness and disbelief, fostered in the cottage and the workshop by a corrupt press. Who but the priest is to save the poor man from the propagandism of atheism? But what will he be able to effect to-day without some tincture of science, and where is his scientific taste to be brought out and cultivated but in the seminary? How is such training to be furnished to the young cleric? This interesting question is answered in detail by our author, but the demands of space compel us to send the reader to the work itself.

Perhaps one specimen of our author's manner may be welcome as a conclusion to this short and inadequate notice of his interesting book. Speaking of the absurd method with which scientific objections used to be and are still sometimes met, he shows the danger attending a confusion of what is of Divine faith with human systems and hypotheses. Where such a method prevails, polemical bitterness is not the least unfortunate result.

From so early a date as the opening of the fifteenth century, the battle of sound sense against philosophism raged around the question as to the true nature of fossils, one side holding that fossils were simply organic remains, the other starting any hypothesis, however ridiculous, to sustain their assertion to the contrary. Fossils were merely freaks of nature, products of a certain fatty matter, the results of fermentation, the offspring of a certain lapidean generation or filiation—anything, in fact, rather than what they plainly were. . . . When sound sense eventually had the best of the argument, and it became lawful to take shells for shells, teeth for teeth, and bones for bones, to hold that the whole surface of the earth up to the topmost heights of the mountains was sown thick with the remains of ancient sea-creatures, then the devout "Concordists" [this is the name of one of the schools of apologists introduced by our author] were wild with delight at the evident harmony thus exhibited between the discoveries of the then infant science of geology and the olden accounts of the Flood given by Holy Writ! Even at the present moment, when geology is surely and on a grand scale deciphering the successive revolutions of our globe, exhibiting, with full knowledge of cause, the continual flux and reflux of seas and change of continents, and is classifying the numerous fauna and flora that have appeared and disappeared during the long cycles of ages—even yet, one often meets persons, otherwise well-informed and well-read, who, on observing the marine deposits scattered all over inland countries, are satisfied, without more ado, that here is proof positive of the Flood of Noah, and they are shocked should any one think differently, as if it were one and the same thing to deny the Deluge and reject an argument which derives its only force from their ignorance. You make truth heresy when you raise error into dogma. G. C.

Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum. Seu Commentarii in selecta S. Scripturæ loca quæ ad demonstranda dogmata adhiberi solent. Auctore JOSEPHO CORLUI, S.J. Tomus 2^{us}. Gandavi: C. Poelman.

THE second volume fulfils the promise given in the first, and concludes a work likely to be of great service to theologians and preachers. This work should be especially welcome in this country, where Biblical discussion is so common. In the religious controversies of our time it is not sufficient simply to fire off texts; one must be prepared to stand to one's texts—in other words, to prove their appositeness, to guard against misapplications, and this by reference to the original Hebrew or Greek. Fr. Corluy's "*Spicilegium*" is a complete arsenal furnished with every weapon of dogmatic warfare. Nor does the learned author content himself with the texts without the context, as many theological writers do. He explains the whole passage, oftentimes the whole psalm or chapter, from which he quotes. Nor does he hesitate to disclose interpretations at variance with his own, and sometimes even in contradiction to the whole argument. He states very fairly the "pros" and "cons" of the different solutions offered in difficult cases. It is its controversial fairness which forms one of the special features of the work. Sometimes, as in 1 John i. 9, he even gives up a commonly quoted text as wanting in demonstrative power. It is a good fault in a controversialist to understate rather than overstate his case.

One thing we desiderate in this otherwise very complete work, and that is an introduction from the learned author explaining the nature of Scriptural evidence. Some may question whether the Bible, which is used to prove everything, can really prove anything. It must be admitted that—apart, of course, from the authority of the Church—textual uncertainty and diversity of interpretation have weakened Biblical proof. Some of the positions defended of old have been undermined. The Septuagint, upon which the Fathers relied so much, is sometimes at variance with the present Hebrew text. Fr. Corluy shows himself to be fully cognizant of these and other difficulties in the way of Scriptural evidence, but gives his readers no help to overcome them.

Atlas d'Histoire naturelle de la Bible, d'après les Monuments anciens et les meilleures Sources modernes et contemporaines, destiné à faciliter l'Intelligence des saintes Ecritures. Par M. L. CL. FILLION, prêtre de St-Sulpice, professeur d'Ecriture sainte au grand Séminaire de Lyon. Lyon et Paris: Libraire Briday. 1884.

WE are glad to welcome the second of the Abbé Fillion's Bible Atlases, and to see that it in no way falls short of the good qualities of the first Atlas.* It is in many respects of greater interest,

* "*Atlas archéologique de la Bible.*" See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1883.

since there are few students of the Bible who do not frequently feel the wish for some information as to the numerous plants and animals named in the sacred books. There are already various Natural Histories of the Bible, such as that of Canon Tristram in English, but the present undertaking of the Abbé Fillion has its own peculiar features. It is an atlas of engravings, the author's inspiring thought being here, as it was in the "Atlas archéologique," to teach by pictures, as by a method easy and of quick effect. There were about eleven hundred figures in the former, and there must be about the same number in this new Atlas, which the author not unfitly calls a portable museum of Bible natural history. Here, then, we have represented every plant or flower or grain, bird, reptile, or beast mentioned in the Scriptures, from the behemoth and leviathan of Job to the industrious ants, the devouring locusts, "the most swift running" roe to whom Asael is likened (2 Kings ii. 18), the beasts and fishes and birds which the children of Israel might eat, and those which they were to consider unclean (Deut. xiv.), and all the rest.

The practical value of this collection of plates to the Bible student is assured by the excellent "Analytical Table" prefixed thereto, in which in briefest possible manner the object is described, its position in the animal or vegetable kingdom being marked by the place of its classification, and the places where it is mentioned in the Scripture text being quoted. An Alphabetical Index still further adds to its value as a work of ready reference. It is also worth noting that the references are to the Vulgate—a not unimportant point to the Catholic. The typographical execution is good, and we may well congratulate the learned author on his success. We hope his long-promised third Atlas—a geographical one—may not long be delayed to complete the series.

Rescripta authentica Sacræ Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis præpositæ, necnon Summaria Indulgentiarum quæ collegit et cum originalibus in archivio S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum contulit JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J., S. Congr. Indulgent. Consult. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1885.

THIS important work had been prepared for the press by the learned Fr. Schneider in 1883, before his premature death at the German College, Rome, January 7, 1884. Fr. Beringer at once undertook to bring out this most painstaking and valuable work of his deceased fellow-countryman. It is now before the Catholic public, and may be pronounced to be of special importance to religious communities, its author having with unwearied zeal searched the archives of the monasteries of Rome to gather together the Indulgences accorded them by the Holy See. He also found a large number unknown to any former collection of Indulgences. In putting them together, the editor aimed at giving an idea of the principles acted on by the Congregation in granting Indulgences. Another feature of this edition deserves to be noted. Fr. Schneider was named a Consultor of the Congregation of Indul-

gences by Leo XIII., and had long been one of the most active members of that body. Being allowed free access to its literary treasures, he was able to insert in his book not a few votes of the Consultors. To these we particularly call the reader's attention. The second part contains summaries of Indulgences, amounting to over 450. Prinzivalli's collection is thus surpassed. Every document in this volume has been examined and compared with the original, and may safely be relied upon. It also bears the approval of the Congregation of Indulgences.

BELLESHEIM.

Bonifaz und Lul. Ihre angelsächsischen Correspondenten. Erzbischof Luls Leben. Von HEINRICH HAHN. [Boniface and Lullus. Their Anglo-Saxon Correspondents. Life of Archbishop Lullus. By H. Hahn.] Leipzig: Veit & Cie. 1883.

THIS elaborate and painstaking work is a substantial contribution towards illustrating the great figures of St. Boniface and his disciple Lullus, and, therefore, seems entitled to a special notice in this Review. The author, albeit a Protestant, claims our interested attention because of his extensive studies on the age of Charlemagne, and the solid writings already published by him on the darkest periods and intricate political questions of the Middle Ages. His latest book may be styled a solid commentary on the celebrated collection of St. Boniface's letters. The first part deals with St. Boniface's principal correspondents in England, chief of whom is St. Aldhelm (pp. 1-50), Bishop of Sherburne, whose life, virtues, and literary accomplishments are fully described. His letters, although not directly referring to St. Boniface, were inserted, probably by Lullus, in the collection of Boniface's letters. Next comes Berhtwald, the influential Archbishop of Canterbury, whose rights conflicted with St. Wilfrid of York. Our author perhaps gives more space to the canonical process in which Wilfrid was involved than is needed. One of the most interesting parts illustrates the correspondence between St. Boniface and his former superior, Bishop Daniel of Winchester, and the Abbesses Eadburga, Eangyth, and Bugga. Daniel's character is dwelt on at length, by way of contrast with that of Boniface. Next we have two chapters treating of the question laid by Boniface before two English Bishops and Abbot Dud in 735, on the observance by the English Church of the canonical impediment of "cognatio spiritualis." Certain it is that St. Boniface was not cognizant of this impediment, and that it was not observed in England. Whilst the accounts of Bishops Pethelm and Nothelm, whom St. Boniface addressed, testify to deep and solid study, the author's guess about Abbot Dud seems scarcely so well founded. It is questionable whether or not Dud was librarian of the Roman Church. The second part of the book is concerned with St. Boniface's illustrious disciple Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz, who was born in Wessex, educated at Malmesbury, and afterwards went on the Conti-

ment, where he joined his great countryman. According to Hahn, Lullus died in 786. The student of ecclesiastical history will derive great advantage from the perusal of this book.

BELLESHEIM.

Bibliotheca Theologiæ et Philosophiæ Scholasticæ selecta atque composita a FRANCISCO EHRLÉ, S.J.—*Aristotelis opera omnia quæ extant*, brevi paraphrasi et litteræ perpetuo inhærente expositione illustrata a SILVESTRO MAURO, S.J. Edidit Fr. EHRLÉ, S.J., adjuvantibus B. FELCHLIN et Fr. BERINGER, Ejusd. Soc. Presbyt. Tomus I., continens logicam, rhetoritam, poeticam. Paris: Lethielleux. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1885.

ECCELESIASTICAL history testifies to the fact that, whenever the study of philosophy within the pale of the Church starts on any new departure, the works of Aristotle are resorted to and become a great object of research. So it was in the Middle Ages, when the great scholastics came forward to vindicate Aristotle against the baneful interpretations of the Arabs. So it was again in the seventeenth century, when, after the close of the Council of Trent, a new and very brilliant period of Catholic science was so prosperously inaugurated. It was indeed a "second spring," and amongst those who merited well of the Church the Jesuit Father Silvester Maurus deserves a first place. By his commentaries on all the works of the great Stagyrte he gained for himself the admiration and gratitude of all students of philosophy. Father Ehrle, in republishing the commentaries of Maurus, has set himself, and discharged, the duties of a weighty task, Maurus having been for more than thirty years Professor of Philosophy in the Roman College. His new, splendidly and correctly printed edition is now before us. It does not give the Greek text, which would have raised the price too much. But very great care has been taken to have the Latin text correct; as, indeed, one might anticipate from so fine a scholar as the editor is known to be. Maurus himself adopted the "versio communis" of Aristotle, which teemed with innumerable errors and mis-spellings; but Father Ehrle follows the excellent edition of Aristotle which fifty years ago was issued by the Royal Academy of Berlin.

Of the immense importance of Father Ehrle's undertaking it seems unnecessary to speak. The encyclical of Leo XIII. on the revival of the study of St. Thomas gives value to the most ample researches on Aristotle that can be undertaken. And as Aristotle has had a twofold set of interpreters, Arabians and Christians, so Fr. Ehrle intends to publish also the works of Avicenna and Averroes—earlier editions of the sixteenth century being, to a great extent, now scarcely legible. Indeed, the printing of their works is being pushed forward with great energy, and their publication may be looked for at no distant date. To add further word of recommendation for an enterprise so deserving as this is would surely be needless.

BELLESHEIM.

Monumenta Sæculi XVI. Historiam illustrantia. Edidit, collegit, ordinavit PETRUS BALAN. Vol. I.—Clementis VII. Epistolæ per Sadoletum Scriptæ, quibus accedunt variorum ad Papam et ad alios Scriptæ. Innsbruck: Wagner. 1885.

HAVING noticed the "*Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranæ*" in this Review last year, I am glad to urge on the student's attention another work brought out by the same zealous worker. He wishes to throw new light on the pontificate of Clement VII., Leo X.'s cousin, who, after the too short reign of the last German Pope, Hadrian VI., ascended the chair of St. Peter in 1523. The number of documents gathered into this splendid volume amounts to 289. Being drawn from the archives of the Vatican, Modena, and Mantua, they form an important contribution towards vindicating the policy of Clement VII., which in our time, both by Protestant and by Catholic historians, has been stigmatized as unsound, wavering, and contradictory. Certainly Clement VII., at a most critical period (1525), sided with the French King against the Emperor Charles V. But impartial historians ought to ponder the Pope's condition as spiritual father of the Christian family. In his twofold capacity as Pope and Italian Prince, the Pope, in favouring France for a time, must be credited with having faithfully discharged his duties. Any student perusing the Pope's letters to Charles V. (36, 38, 48, 72, 86, 88, 98) will there easily find testimony to his impartiality. German affairs claim a prominent part in these documents, and England comes next. The collection starts with a letter of the Pope to Reginald (later, Cardinal) Pole. This is followed by a quantity of letters to Henry VIII. (7, 101, 136, 218, 240), Cardinal Wolsey (8, 18, 33, 98, 217), and the young King of Scotland (33, 46). The first letter sent to James V. is contained in Theiner's "*Monumenta Vetera Scotorum Historiam illustrantia*," but Balan presents it in a more accurate form, and the second letter has been hitherto quite unknown. In it the Pope exhorts the Scotch King to keep on good terms with England. The Pope's letters to Henry VIII. refer for the most part to the distressed state of Hungary and the threatened invasion of the Turks. They are a fresh evidence of what the Holy See has ever done towards promoting unity amongst Christian princes and directing their exertions.

Mgr. Balan by this volume has rendered a signal service to Church history, and deserves the gratitude of Catholic scholars.

BELLESHEIM.

Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege. Von Dr. GEORG RATZINGER. Zweite Auflage. [History of the Church's Care of the Poor. By Dr. GEORGE RATZINGER. 2nd Edition.] Freiburg: Herder. 1884.

THIS thoroughly studied book first appeared in 1868, when it won the first prize at the University of Munich. But social questions have developed, and many problems have been laid before sociologists

which had not been so much as thought of in 1868. Our author has left nothing undone to throw light on these momentous problems. He traces the history of those noble exertions which the Catholic Church from her very beginnings to our own time has never ceased to employ. Dr. Ratzinger's book is entirely the result of original studies. The Fathers, both Greek and Latin, the decrees of Councils, general and provincial, the laws of secular princes, and also the chief modern literature on social questions, have been duly put under contribution. Dr. Ratzinger is a judicious writer, inquiring into the causes of facts and passing impartial judgment upon them. The care of the Church for the poor developed with the course of time, and may be divided into periods, thus:—(1) At first she employed the *διακονία* for the congregation as such. (2) Then came the period of persecutions, in which she supplied the wants of individual families. (3) After the victory of Christianity we see the foundation of pious establishments providing for the poor. (4) Protestantism has led to a thorough revolution, since it is to the new Christendom of the sixteenth century that must be traced that coercive charity whose ghastly results are before us in English workhouses. In conclusion, our author traces the outlines for renewing in a vigorous form the "Kirchliche Armenpflege." His work deserves unstinted praise. BELLESHEIM.

La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides. Par L. C. CASARTELLI. Paris: Maisonneuve. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

THIS is the title of the book presented to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Louvain by the Rev. L. C. Casartelli, of St. Bede's College, Manchester, when taking his degree of Doctor in Oriental Letters a few months back.* Some of the most important conclusions arrived at in this highly interesting book are well worth being widely known.

The "Avesta" is beginning to be better known; the labours of the great Eranists have popularized the very curious doctrine of Zoroaster from the standpoint of the general history of religions. But can the same be said of the more recent Mazdean systems, and in particular of religious philosophy under the Sassanid kings? We think not; and this so much the more that even among the learned these delicate and complex questions raised by the post-Avestic Mazdean exegesis are far from being decided. Before entering upon an analysis of the work before us, it may not be amiss to recall briefly the historical points of the question.

The religion of Zoroaster, which, according to some, took its rise in Media, but, according to others, in Bactria,† was professed for a considerable time by the semi-nomadic mountaineers and shepherds of Eran.

* Vide *Academy*, August 3, 1884, p. 61.

† This important controversy has just been renewed by the article of Dr. Geiger, on the age and birthplace of the "Avesta." Vide *Academy*, August 30, 1884, p. 142, and the refutation announced by M. de Harlez, *ibid.* September 6, p. 156.

Under the Achemenids, the "Avesta" penetrated into Persia after a prolonged resistance. In the meantime, it must be borne in mind that, although the Avestic cult possesses points of contact with the religion of the Achemenids (both the one and the other, for instance, adoring "Aûramazda"), still it is not identical with it. After the works of Spiegel and de Harlez, this question must be considered settled. Under the Seleucids, Mazdeism was very near disappearing; but in A.D. 226 it ascended the throne of Persia, with Ardeshir Pâpekan, the first of the Sassanids, to reign undisputed till 651. At this date the Arabs drove out Mazdeism, which took refuge in the peninsula of Guzerat, where Parseeism has now-a-days almost its only adherents. Nevertheless, the Mazdean doctrine of the Sassanids is not the pure doctrine of Zoroaster; eight centuries have passed over the work of the founder, and his teaching is far from having continued without any change. What were, then, the philosophical and theological doctrines of Mazdeism when it became the national and official religion of Persia under the Sassanids? This is precisely the question which the present volume seeks to answer. It is not, therefore, a question of the Avesta, and much less of the later Mazdeism, which succeeded the Musulman conquest.

The subject of Dr. Casartelli's dissertation is of great importance. The Mazdeism of the Sassanids bears the stamp of the greater part of the contemporary religions; especially is it strongly impregnated with the doctrines of Christianity. The Catholic theologian will find in it some very useful facts for the religious history of the East during the first centuries of our era. The religious records of Sassanid Mazdeism of which the author has here made use are the "Bûn-Dehesh," the "Mainyo-i-Khard," "Ardâ-i-Virâf Nameh," "Bahman Yesht," and the "Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast." Let us add to these the "Dinkart," which Dr. Casartelli claims as belonging to the Sassanid literature. What proves still more that we are no longer in the age of pure Avestism is the fact that the language itself has changed. The Avestic works are written in Zend or Bactrian. The Sassanid literature is in Pehlevi. What is Pehlevi? It is an idiom of artificial creation, destined for public and sacred use. It contains most heterogeneous elements, being a mixture of Aramean and Middle Persian. Professor de Harlez thinks, however, that it was a purely Eranian language, and that the use of Semitic words in it is the result merely of affectation and a passing fashion.* Our author treats in succession the Theology, Cosmology, Anthropology, Ethics, and Eschatology of the Sassanid Mazdeism. We cannot do better than follow the same order.

1. *Theology*.—It is well known that the "Avesta" teaches dualism in the Divine nature. Two principles, the one good (viz., "Ahura Mazda"), the other evil (viz., "Anro-Mainyus"), dispute between them the empire of the world. But it is no longer so in the post-Avestic Mazdeism, and when Paul of Dair-i-Shar, in the sixth century, describes the different sects, he meets with the most complete discord

* "Manuel du Pehlevi des Livres religieux et historiques," p. 5.

on the great dogmatic questions. The unity of God is taught, but at the same time other schools teach dualism and even polytheism. As Dr. Casartelli well remarks, the Mazdean theology under the Sassanids, which, after all, tends to the unity of God, is a logical consequence of the dualistic system. In fact, dualism, being still more repugnant to logical minds, like those of the Eranians, than polytheism itself, of necessity led to the belief in the unity of the Divine principle. Does this say that the Avestic dualism disappeared completely? No; several sects, admitting a Being, indifferent, immutable, and having an existence previous to that of the Principle of Good and the Principle of Evil, taught that these latter two derive their origin from the Divine and eternal source of the First Being. What is this primordial Being? The Pehlevi books call it "Zrvan Akarana" (unlimited time), a kind of destiny. The author exposes in detail the Zervanic systems, because on this point there is great divergence of opinion; and upon the nature of the Original Being, the source of all the others, there is a multitude of different beliefs. Thus, whilst the "Mainyo-i-Khard" professes the idea of destiny, of the Fatum, which precedes the other Gods, who are subject to it, whilst this belief has given rise to a preponderating sect, that of the Zervanites, the "Bundehesh" makes of the Zervan an essential attribute of Aûharmazd. Let us not forget, in the meantime, that if Zervanism was a philosophical speculation, excogitated by the schools to escape the incongruities of dualism, the conception of Zervan was not the object of a worship. Aûharmazd has always held his place as the great God of the Eranians, even under the Sassanids.

In the meantime, two foreign doctrines, introduced into the Sassanid Mazdeism, have sensibly altered the original features of Ahura-Mazda. These two doctrines are that of the Spirit of Wisdom, and that of Vohûman, the Son of the Creator. Dr. Casartelli recognizes in these two systems the influence of the *Σοφία* of the Old Testament* of the Jewish School of Alexandria, and of the Gnostics, and that of the doctrine of the *Λογός* in the Fourth Gospel. Let us explain, in a few words, this double thesis, which must be studied in the interesting details here given by the author.

We have just seen what the Mazdeism of the Sassanids thinks of the good principle, Aûharmazd. We must now pass on to the conception of evil. In the "Avesta" the Principle of Evil bears the name of "Anro-Mainyus." Sassanid literature gives him the name of "Aharman," and of "Ganâk-Minôi." What are the chief traits of Aharman? He is like Aûharmazd, a spirit, limited for the rest just as Aûharmazd; but, on the other hand, he is essentially wicked, ignorant, timid, and cowardly. He is not immortal; he will have an end, not, however, in himself, but in the evil he has created. Someday evil will disappear. However, there is no agreement found in the Mazdean schools at the Sassanid epoch on the questions relating to his

* Cf. especially Eccles. xxiv. 5, 14; Prov. viii. 22, 23, 27-30; Wisdom ix. 2, 3, vii. 17, 21; &c. &c.

origin and final destiny. But, following Dr. Casartelli, we have given the principal ideas.

The place occupied in the Avestic religion by the worship of the genii is well known. The belief in spirits has remained in the Sassanid Mazdeism. There are two kinds of spirits—one good, the other evil. The first were created by Aûharmazd; Aharman produced the others in opposition to the good spirits created by Aûharmazd.

As regards these spirits we shall mention but one point. One of the demons of Mazdeism is named Aêshma. It is well known that modern rationalism has wished to identify the Asmodeus of the book of Tobias with the Avestic Aêshmo-daeva, and to draw the conclusion that the Bible has borrowed this conception from Zoroastrism. The Catholic apologists have said at times, in answer to this, that the expression Aêshmo-daeva is one forged by the rationalists—that is to say, that the two words are never met with together. However, Dr. Casartelli remarks that the Pehlevi name Aêshmsheda is to be found as one word in the "Bun-dehesh" (xxviii. 15). Now, if this be so, one can easily suppose an Avestic form, Aêshmo-daeva, and according to the theory which sees in Huzvaresh mere ideograms we ought to pronounce Aeshmdev. One must therefore be prudent henceforward in the use of the negative argument, which has thus far been employed. As for the rest, there are many other plausible reasons for rejecting the thesis that the Bible has borrowed from the Avestic demonology.

2. *Cosmology*.—From a cosmological point of view, a capital distinction must be made between the spiritual and material worlds. But these ideas are all conventional ones; for very often Mazdeism comprehends under the spiritual world beings which for us are material. Thus, to commence with heaven, the "Mainyo-i-Khard" distinguishes the Çpihar or spiritual heaven, from the Açman, or material heaven. The Çpihar, or the sphere, is especially the circle in which the zodiac and the planets revolve. The Mazdean books of the Sassanid epoch contain pretty complete systems of astronomy.

The material world was created in six periods. Aûharmazd created at first the material heaven (Açman), then the water, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man. The six periods formed altogether a year of 365 days. The order of creation is not arbitrary; as a matter of fact, the diffusion of waters is regulated by the wind, which blows from heaven; the increase of plants depends upon the water; the animals live on the plants, and man feeds on the animals. One may well think that this theory of six periods of the creation is of Jewish origin. The very differences confirm their common origin; for if there be a divergence on the first and the fourth day, this change is rendered necessary by the Mazdean doctrines, which regard the heavenly bodies and light as belonging to the spiritual creation anterior to that of the material world.

What we have just said constitutes the *ensemble* of the ideas of the "Bun-dehesh" and of the "Mainyo-i-Khard" upon the creation. But the cosmological ideas of the "Dinkart" are sensibly different. According to the "Dinkart," the firmament and heavenly bodies fall under the category of matter.

We shall just touch upon the question of the mystic trees, which certainly has its importance for the Catholic apologist. Dr. Casartelli peremptorily refutes the objections of Spiegel, who sees in the two mystic trees of the Eranians the origin of the two trees of knowledge and of life in the book of Genesis. The illustrious Eranist remarks that in the Old Testament the mention of the tree of life is quite isolated. Among the Aryans, on the contrary, the legends that relate to it constitute a thoroughly concordant group. There is, then, every reason to believe that the Jews have in this matter borrowed from the Aryan mythology. In answer to this objection, it is only necessary, says our author, to go back to the discoveries of Assyriology made since the publication of Spiegel's "*Eranische Alterthumskunde*." This is what M. Lenormant says: "The decipherment of the cuneiform texts has profoundly changed the point of view of science, and totally ruined the Aryan theory, which now counts but few belated defenders." We must therefore, with Dr. Casartelli, call the attention of the Eranists to the very sensible development which the legend of the two divine trees in the Sassanid system has undergone. A veritable evolution of an Aryan worship, purely naturalist, effected under influences which are evidently foreign and clearly Semitic ones, is to be seen.

3. *Anthropology*.—Man, as we have seen, was, according to the "*Bun-dehesh*," the work of the sixth epoch. Aûharmazd formed from the earth a human being, Gâyômart, male and alone, who lived 3,000 years, until he succumbed to the attacks of Aharman. Primitive man was created perfect by Aûharmazd, but the Spirit of Evil was not long in taking possession of his soul. As regards the physical part of man, he is composed of a body and a soul: the body, being made after the soul, is quite material, and the "*Ardâ Virâf Nameh*" proclaims, in the following words, the "*Memento quia pulvis*"—"Know this, that cattle is dust [*afra*]; that the horse is dust; that gold and silver are dust; and that the body of man is dust."

The soul is the subject of predilection of the Pehlevi treatises, and long texts are cited enumerating and explaining the human faculties. Dr. Casartelli sums up in detail the psychological principles of Mazdeism.

4. *Ethics*.—If the Mazdean writers were fond of psychological distinctions, they were still more attached to questions of moral. The Mazdean religion can boast of having the healthiest, the highest, and the most reasonable ethics of all non-Christian religions. The bases of morality are in the free-will of man. Created naturally good, he is exposed to the temptations of the Evil Spirit. But as Aûharmazd revealed to Zartûst: It is better in this life to let one's body grow thin and to suffer hunger and to have one's soul fat in heaven, than to fatten the body here below and then have one's soul thin and famished in hell. "*Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam conservat eam*." Life is, then, a spiritual combat. Thus the "*Mainyo-i-Khard*" advises us to take up arms. "Take," it says, "the spirit of contentment for coat of mail; the spirit of truth for

buckler; the spirit of gratitude for club; the spirit of devotion for bow; the spirit of liberality for arrow; the spirit of moderation for javelin; the spirit of perseverance for gauntlet. The Spirit of Wisdom will be our support; the Spirit of Destiny our protection." (Cf. St. Paul, Ephes. vi. 14-17.)

The treatises of Mazdean ethics consist chiefly of long enumerations and minute classifications of the virtues and vices. The general virtues are, according to the "Mainyo-i-Khard," liberality, truth, gratitude, and contentment. Then come the desire to do good to the good and to be a friend to every one; the firm faith in the creative power of Aôharmazd; in the malice of Aharman; in the resurrection of the dead, and in a future life; the practice of Khvetôdas, astrology, industry, firm trust in religion, the "good eye" towards the efforts of every man, the seeking for the favour of the good and the appreciation of their virtue.

Let us say a word about the duties of one's state of life. Each state of life has its duties, which must be scrupulously observed. The duties of the rich are thus enumerated: to aid the very poor and to make agriculture prosper. The lower classes have other obligations. The duties of husband and wife are often given in the vision of Ardâ Virâf. The husband is to instruct and correct his wife, otherwise he will be responsible for her faults; she is to be faithful to him, obey him, and honour him. Her body, life, and soul belong to him; but he is to provide her with all that is necessary for life.

We have not the leisure to dwell upon the ideas which the Mazdeans entertained about merit, although they were certainly remarkable. We shall say a word or two, however, on the means employed to get rid of sins and their consequences, for this question raises a controversy of capital importance on the subject of "Patêt," or Mazdean repentance. In fact, Dr. West believes he can here discover traces of the Protestant repentance, for in the Parsee system remission depends rather on a mental change than on the corporal act. Such is the reason given by Dr. West. The text of the "Mainyo-i-Khard" completely contradicts Dr. West. Here is the text in Dr. West's own version:—

And for the existence of renunciation of *sin*, the special thing is this, that he commits no sin voluntarily; and if through inexperience, or weakness, or ignorance, a sin arises, *then he is before the high priests and the good in renunciation of sin*; and after that, if he commits not, then that sin which is committed by him is so removed from his body as that wind which comes a hundredfold, powerful, and quick, and strong, and so sweeps over the wilderness that it will carry off all grass and anything that is broken in that place.

The principal thing is evidently the change of one's interior, but public confession before the priests is an essential condition, which certainly differs *toto calo* from the Protestant system of justification.

Among the chief duties of the Mazdean faithful are to be mentioned the religious obligations, the first of which is to believe in the exclusive truth of Mazdeism. In effect the latter was anything but

tolerant. It was the only good religion, all others being bad. The Jewish, Manichæan and Christian were especially condemned. "The Jewish religion of Arûm [the Greek empire], then that of the Messiah of the West, and finally that of Mani of Turkestan, it is elsewhere said, were to be combated." The only pure religion is the Mazdean; that of Sinik is mixed; that of Zandîk, of the Christian, of the Jew, and of others, is evil. Christianity had a third name—viz., kilicyâkîk, for which Neryoseng, in his Sanskrit version of the "Yaçna," is our authority. This word kilicyâkîk, is formed from the Persian "kilicya" = ἐκκλησία. There is a special demon, Shêdâ-gpîh—the white demon—attributed to Christianity. It is very remarkable, and at the same time highly important for determining the age of our sources, that none of these passages breathe a word of Islam whilst attacking evil religions. Moreover, they invariably associated Christianity with Arûm or Rûm—i.e., with the Greek empire, which was always in hostility with the Sassanid kings. All these indications are valuable from an historical point of view.

5. *Eschatology*.—On this question we refer the reader to the work of Dr. Casartelli, for, with the exception of certain natural developments, the Mazdeism of the Sassanids does not differ essentially in this point from the Avestic doctrine. However, we may notice with our author an error of Spiegel's, of which we ourselves have been a victim in our work on Cerberus.* Spiegel represents the famous bridge "Cinvat" as guarded by a dog "Zarîngôsh"—i.e., with yellow ears—a kind of Cerberus, who drives the demons and the wicked souls from the bridge, and who is naturally compared to the two yellow dogs (udumbala) of the Vedic hell. Now, Dr. Casartelli teaches us that the passage of the version of Ardâ Virâf upon which the above belief rests does not exist either in the Pehlevi or Parsi texts, but only in a Persian version of recent date, of which the English translation by Pope was the only one known by Spiegel when he wrote his "Traditional Literature." There is no other mention made of this dog in other sources of the epoch.

Dr. Casartelli also refutes the views of Dr. Roth on the subject of the place where those whose good and evil works are in equilibrium are sent to at the end of their life. This curious idea is certainly post-Avestic. However, Dr. Roth has tried to find this doctrine in the "Yaçna" (xxiii. 1). His two principal arguments are, first, the new interpretation of the word *hém-yâçaitê*, which he wishes to put in relation with the name hamêctagân, and also the Pehlevi term, hamyaçto, in the "Dinkart." Dr. Casartelli takes up especially the latter argument. The first will be refuted by Professor de Harlez. In any case, Dr. Roth has misunderstood the phrase which he quotes; it means simply that the human race in the material world is in harmony with the spiritual world. It is not a question at all of souls whose good works equal their bad ones.

* "Cerbère. Étude de Mythologie comparée." Par J. Van den Gheyn, S.J. Bruxelles, 1883.

We believe we have said enough to enable the reader to understand what important questions are mooted and often solved in the doctoral dissertation of Dr. Casartelli. Before concluding, we wish to bear testimony to the profound knowledge of authorities and thorough acquaintance with all that relates to the Eranian philology displayed on every page. Many other things might be noticed, but it is time to draw to a close. We cannot do it better than by addressing the new Doctor of Louvain in the words used by Max Müller to the deeply regretted Martin Haug. We are certain that all those who are interested in the study of languages and of ancient religions will desire that the author may continue to communicate to us the fruit of his researches on the language, literature, ceremonial, and religion of the votaries of Zoroaster.

J. VAN DEN GHEYN, S.J., M.R.A.S.

The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt. By ALFRED J. BUTLER, M.A., F.S.A. In two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1884.

IN these two very handsome volumes Mr. Butler gives a full and interesting account of the Christian antiquities of the Copts and of their ancient churches. We do not think that the subject has been so systematically and fully treated before, but certainly not in any English treatise. The large amount of interest felt at present among Englishmen in Egypt generally extends in a certain measure to the ancient schismatic Church of Egypt, and hence doubtless this work appears at a time when it will be widely welcomed. It deserves welcome, however, independently of this consideration. There is much in the work, and more particularly in the first volume—which treats of the buildings themselves—that will be found valuable to church architects and liturgicists as being fresh from Mr. Butler's own observations in the localities described. This personal character, indeed, gives the book its real value; so far as that personal element goes, it has the weight of ocular testimony. First-hand information largely predominates in the first volume, as we have said; in the second, we have a much greater amount of space devoted, less fortunately we think, to the comparative study of other rites and the critical rehearsal of former authorities.

But we are not, therefore, ungrateful to Mr. Butler for what he has given us of his own, remembering, too, from the very nature of the case, what it must have cost him. It is surprising to what an extent and with what good purpose he has surmounted the exceptional difficulties which meet the would-be inquirer into Coptic affairs.

No one who has not tried [he observes] can imagine what time and trouble it has often cost to obtain access even to some of the churches of old Cairo; no one would believe how many fruitless journeys under a scorching sun can go to a scanty handful of Coptic notes. And if one searches for oral information, trouble multiplies a hundredfold. Very few indeed of the Copts know anything about their own history or their own ritual, or can assign a reason for the things which they witness in their daily services. A question on a point of ceremonial is usually

met either with a shake of the head or by a palpably wrong answer veiling ignorance. Moreover, the oracle, when discovered, generally prefers speaking to-morrow. (Pref. p. ix.)

Knowing something of the nature of these difficulties, we admire the tact and patience which must have secured to Mr. Butler so large a measure of success.

The first volume opens with a general survey of the structure of Coptic churches. Their peculiarities are not few; some being the consequence of Moslem hatred and oppression—of this kind is the utter absence of external architectural design, and a studied hiding of the church in its surrounding buildings—many others doubtless being traces of ancient usage to which the Copts have clung with their characteristic tenacity. We may note, for example, that, in contrast to Greek practice, Coptic churches, even the most ancient ones, have three true eastern altars, besides a prothesis and diaconicon. Even their chapels, both "side chapels" and "upstairs chapels," as we should have to say, have frequently three altars each. In the churches the middle or high altar is the only one in general use. The northern and southern altars are used only on the greatest feasts—as the Nativity, Easter, the Exaltation of the Cross, &c.; the reason of this being that, according to Coptic canons, more than one Mass may not be said on one altar on the same day—the altar, like the communicant, must be "fasting." On those feasts, therefore, when a second and third Mass is needed, they are celebrated on the other altars in succession.

From the structure in general, and the laws which have governed it, we pass to the treatment of those individual chapels and churches of the two Cairos and the Western desert which the author himself visited and examined. These chapters are of the greatest interest, enhanced not a little by the excellent ground-plans which accompany the account of each edifice. We cannot follow Mr. Butler in many of his deductions and theories, but that need not detain us; his facts and personal observations retain their respective value independently. We should recommend the reader, who may feel well interested in the subject of the seventh and eighth chapters, to supplement them by reading the two long letters in the "*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*" (edition of Paris, 1780, vol. iv.), written more than a hundred and fifty years ago by Père Sicard. One of these letters treats of the monasteries of the Natrun Valley, and the other of the two monasteries of SS. Anthony and Paul in the Eastern desert. They record Père Sicard's accounts of his own visits and personal observations. Except in the way of going to ruin, these Coptic monasteries have not changed much since 1712, and the information then written is still valuable. It is in a special way supplementary where the Father records his visit to the monasteries of SS. Anthony and Paul, which Mr. Butler had not the opportunity of visiting.

A very noteworthy feature of the churches described by Mr. Butler, especially of the Cairene churches, is the multitude of paintings, and, to Catholics, the large proportion of these which represent either Our Lady herself or some scene of her life. The "*Madonna and Child*"

seems to be painted everywhere ; is embroidered also on the haikal, or sanctuary screen, on dalmatics, on the cuffs or armlets worn by the priest at the altar. We have frequent pictures of the Annunciation, of the nativity of Our Lord, of Our Lady's death, her death-bed surrounded by the Apostles in the traditional way, whilst one painting, named by Mr. Butler the Resurrection (p. 52), is, we fancy, judging from his description of it, a picture of Our Lady's Assumption. For the value, art-character, and manner of execution of these mural and other paintings, we must refer the reader to the book itself.

In the second volume we have chapters on the Coptic altars, Eucharistic vessels, church and altar furniture, as ambons, reliquaries, lamps, &c. ; on the liturgical vestments, on the rites and ceremonies used in the administration of the Seven Sacraments and in other functions. In these chapters it is that we should have preferred more of Mr. Butler's personal testimony to what the Coptic priests do and what they wear, as he saw or learned it, and less of his newly collected liturgical lore. Very many pages of his hot discussions on points of divergence between East and West, and of his criticism of authors, would we gladly give in exchange, if it could have been, for another "scanty handful" of his own notes. Mr. Butler has that mistaken notion and exaggerated esteem of ritual now so common amongst Anglicans. He appears to give point to a thrust at the West or at Rome by confusing ritual with dogma. Thus, he speaks (p. 274) of the Coptic practice of administering Confirmation at the same time as Baptism, and by a priest as the ordinary minister as well as by a bishop ("although," he adds, "they are regarded essentially as two sacraments, not as one"); and he concludes: "In all these particulars the Copts have retained the early *teaching* of the Catholic Church, which the Westerns have abandoned." We have italicized the word "*teaching*," which is out of place here. He means "*practice*," and even then the assertion is not absolutely correct, and is misleading. Baptism, in the early ages, was often administered separately even by a layman, and often by deacons, when the Canons ordered the so-baptized persons to be confirmed afterwards by the bishop. We are not surprised that he should find it "*interesting*" that

Egypt, which never fell under the sway of a Roman pontiff, retains to this day, in the ministration of the altar, the form of tunic disused by the Latins fifteen centuries ago. (P. 110.)

This tunic which the Latins fifteen centuries ago were guilty of disusing is the colobion, the present Latin tunic is the dalmatic ; the colobion had short, close-fitting sleeves, the dalmatic—dreadful to relate—has long, full sleeves ! We see now what the "*sway*" of Roman pontiffs is capable of !

We had noted several places for special remark, but will trespass on our space and the reader's patience with only this one, early in the volume, where Mr. Butler, who has been speaking of the inclusion of relics at the consecration of an altar, remarks :—

But essential as the presence of relics was considered in the early ages of the Church, in later times, despite the miraculous power of multiply-

ing possessed by martyrs' bones, there seems to have been a dearth of such remains, and altars were consecrated without them. In a MS. of the fifteenth century, now in the British Museum,* may be found a rubric providing that the practice of placing relics inside the altar "raro fiat . . . propter reliquiarum paucitatem." This ordinance, hitherto unnoticed, was pointed out to me by Mr. Middleton. (Vol. ii. p. 16.)

Now, concerning this passage, we remark—without delaying on the last sentence—that the MS. quoted does not contain a "rubric providing" that relics be rarely included, either for the reason quoted or for any other, and that the rubric is not, correctly speaking, an "ordinance" at all. Mr. Butler ought to be carefully correct, since he is so confident and absolute when he corrects others, as he often does. The rubric runs thus (fol. 136b):—"Si reliquie non debeant recondi infra altare [transi ad hoc signum ✕].† Ordo qualiter reliquie ponende sunt in altari. Sciendum est tamen quod variis modis recluduntur reliquie infra altare, licet istis temporibus hoc raro fiat propter reliquiarum antiquarum paucitatem et novorum sanctorum raram canonizacionem. Tamen si debeat fieri potest expleri prout supra notatur in magna rubrica in principio dedicacionis more romano," &c. &c. And in another place in the same MS. (fol. 166b), in the course of an *ordo* for consecrating a portable altar "more gallicano," there is a rubric saying that here, if there are relics to be used, "recludantur, sin autem, transi," &c. But we need not say more. It is enough that Mr. Butler's "ordinance, hitherto unnoticed," is really a provisionary rubric, not *ordering* relics either to be included or excluded, or rarely included, or anything else, but stating that here is the order for inclosing them, although, now, this be rarely done! The tone of discovery in this quotation is noteworthy, since the rarity of relics and the omission of them in many cases is not even peculiar to either England or the fifteenth century. It is a thing noticed in other Pontificals than this Lansdowne MS. (written apparently for a bishop of London) and in not a few authors—in so common a handbook, for instance, as Le Brun's "Cérémonies de la Messe" (vol. i. pp. 144–5), also in Bloxam's "Principles" (new edition, vol. ii. p. 146) and other works. A Roman Missal printed at Basle in 1487, referred to by Le Brun, orders the words "quorum reliquiæ hic sunt" (of the prayer "Oramus te, Domine," on reaching the altar at Mass) to be omitted if there be no relics in the altar. This contingency of no relics is also contemplated in the York Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge, in the Pontifical of Bishop Lacy of Exeter, &c.

So far, however, is Mr. Butler's own ocular information on Coptic churches new to the Western world that we must close our remarks on his book by repeating our sense of its importance. It is even likely, we think, to mark an epoch by the impetus it will give to other workmen on the line here opened, and in a wide field of exploration

* Lansdowne 451, fol. 137a.

† The bracketed words, accidentally omitted, are added on the margin in another hand.

which, as Mr. Butler is himself the first to point out, he has not exhausted, and which—from the circumstances of a stay in Egypt of only seven months, with his mind, at the time, “a mere blank as regards architecture, ritual, and ecclesiology”—he could not be expected to have exhausted.

Manuel de la langue Mandchoue. Grammaire, Anthologie et Lexique.
Par C. DE HARLEZ. Paris: Maisonneuve. 1884.

OF all European nations England furnishes the largest contingent of students of the language and literature of China. This phenomenon is not to be exclusively attributed to any abstract love that Englishmen may be supposed to entertain for this ancient language and its rich literature, but likewise in great part to those important commercial and political relations between the two countries which render a knowledge of Chinese a sort of necessity for so many Englishmen. Everything therefore that tends to promote or facilitate the study of Chinese is sure to be cordially welcomed in this country.

It is a well-known fact that a knowledge of the Mandchu language is, to some extent, a *conditio sine quâ non* for those who devote themselves to the study of the Chinese literature. Since the establishment of the present dynasty in China, Mandchu has become one of the languages of the State. All the masterpieces of Chinese literature have been carefully translated into Mandchu, and many important State documents have been written exclusively in this language, so that it happens not unfrequently that an obscure passage or expression of a Chinese author becomes intelligible to the European scholar only after he has consulted the Mandchu translation. Moreover, for the student of Chinese history, Mandchu is absolutely necessary; as certain important works, such as the *Tai Juen Gurun Suduri* [history of the Mongol dynasty in the north of China], the *Aisin Guruni Suduri* [history of the Dzin dynasty, founded by the Mandchu], &c., exist only in Mandchu, and, as far as we know, have neither been translated nor edited up to the present time.

Notwithstanding the importance of Mandchu, it has been hitherto, comparatively speaking, neglected. This circumstance may be at least partially explained by the fact that the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of it were extremely limited. The Mandchu grammars that existed heretofore were either too incomplete, as that of Hoffmann (1883), or inaccessible to most students, as the grammar of Zakharoff in Russian (St. Petersburg, 1879). Moreover, none of the existing grammars contained a chrestomathy and glossary, and texts and dictionaries were still more inaccessible to the student than grammars. The aim of Professor de Harlez's manual is to remedy this state of things. His manual is divided into three parts: a grammar (pp. 1–100), a chrestomathy (pp. 101–172), and a glossary (pp. 175–222). In the grammar, the student will find everything of any importance that is to be found even in the most diffuse grammars, besides a considerable number of original remarks that he would seek elsewhere in

vain. For Professor de Harlez's grammar is not by any means a compilation; it is based to a great extent on the results of his own studies, and these studies have not been confined to Mandchu translations of Chinese authors, but embrace the most important documents originally composed in Mandchu. The chief merits of the grammar are, without doubt, its clearness and conciseness. It is very difficult in a work like this to be concise without being obscure, and to attain completeness without becoming unnecessarily diffuse. Professor de Harlez has, generally speaking, admirably succeeded in this difficult task, chiefly because he lays down in the beginning of each chapter certain general principles, that explain whole groups of facts, and also because he sedulously avoids all unnecessary repetition. Among much that is entirely original we may specially point out the section: "Des Onomatopées," and a considerable portion of the syntax; the section headed "Nature de la langue, ses rapports avec le Chinois," will likewise be of great service to the student.

Professor de Harlez's aim was doubtlessly not to teach students to speak Mandchu, but to read and understand it, so that he did well to exclude certain minute rules relating to the pronunciation of some syllables in exceptional cases. Still it would not have been, we think, superfluous to mention that the letter *e* before *o* is pronounced *o*, whereas the *o* that follows it has the sound of *u*, for example *seulekhen* (thoughtfulness, forethought) is pronounced *soulekhen*. It would likewise have been well to say that *s* before *i* is in some cases pronounced *sh*. We cannot quite agree with Professor de Harlez when he describes the pronunciation of *l* in Mandchu as "comme dans nos langues," because the Mandchu *l* is identical with the Russian *л*, and consequently not at all similar to the *l* of most European languages. At page 32 we read "*amila* coq, *emile* poule." It would, we think, have been more correct to translate "*amila*" the male (of birds) in general, and "*emile*" the female. The Mandchu word for cock is *amila tchoko*, and for hen *emile tchoko*. Page 32, the transcription of the Mandchu word for cow seems to us not quite correct; instead of *uniyen* we would pronounce *unyen*. Page 33, *urun* is made—by a typographical error—to signify "*brut*," whereas it really means "*bru*." Page 33, the Mandchu word for "*convive*" is given as *andaha*; we should have preferred the transcription *antakha*. Page 36, first line, the two words written *abka-i* ought to be pronounced *abkay*, for it is a dissyllable. But these remarks do not in the least diminish the value of the grammar, the object of which is to teach the written rather than the spoken language. Moreover, it is but just to remark that the pronunciation of the Mandchu is subject to local modifications, so that the Mandchu of Pekin is not pronounced exactly in the same way as the Mandchu of Manchuria.

The chrestomathy is composed of texts selected with discrimination, and graduated with care. We are glad to remark that it contains a considerable number of extracts taken from works hitherto untranslated in Europe, and from unedited manuscripts belonging to the author. The only subject we have for regret is that out of seventy pages of

text, only ten are printed in Mandchu characters, the rest being in Latin transcription.

The glossary is, as far as we can judge, complete, and in every respect satisfactory. It is based naturally more on texts originally composed in Mandchu than on simple translations from the Chinese, and the order in which the words are arranged is extremely simple and practical. As in the glossary it was impossible to enter into explanations of difficult forms and passages, the author explains them in the copious philological and exegetical notes that accompany the text, besides which at the end of the glossary (pp. 223-228) the most difficult extracts of the chrestomathy are literally translated. In a word, the work before us fulfils all the conditions required of a complete and practical handbook, and we have no hesitation in recommending it to all who desire to acquire a knowledge of the Mandchu language.

The Revolt of the Netherlands. By WILFRID C. ROBINSON. London : R. Washbourne. 1885.

INTO this volume the author has gathered six essays of his which appeared in the *Month* a few years ago. They cover the period between the abdication of Charles V. and the death of Philip II., and touch on not a few such difficult topics as the character of Philip and of William the Silent, the Revolt of the Netherlands, Alva's reign of terror, and the like. We had hoped that the volume was a consecutive and more exhaustive study of the period; but we are pleased, nevertheless, to see these useful and pleasant articles reproduced. Many readers who would dread a more ponderous book will be glad to get a general view and a correct notion of a critical and much misunderstood period by means of such easy reading. The real student will need to go deeper, but will find here an agreeable *coup d'œil*, the result of wide reading. It is much to be regretted that the author has here wholly omitted "repeated references to the numerous authorities" consulted in writing. The student, says Mr. Robinson, has "only" to refer "among others" to the "works of Strada, Bentivoglio, Van Meteren, Vander Vynckt, Gachard, De Reiffenberg, Groen van Prinsterer, Poulet, Baumstark, Prescott, Motley, Juste, and Forneron"—this is his idea of "any ordinarily well-stocked library"! What has the student done that he should have to plod through the above formidable list each time he wishes "to substantiate my statements" regarding persons and events which are notoriously misrepresented or misunderstood by the authors who *de facto* compose the ordinary library, at least in England? We hope Mr. Robinson will be kinder to him in a second edition.

The Catholic Chorister : a Collection of Easy Masses, Motetts, Litanies, &c. Newbury, Berks : Alphonse Carey.

WE have received from Mr. Alphonse Carey, music publisher, of Newbury, a fresh collection of easy Masses, Motetts, and Benediction Services, which he offers to us in "The Catholic Chorister." This publication, presented in single sheets, has for its object to benefit such small choirs as will wisely refrain from murdering the most difficult productions and complicated arrangements of eminent composers, and aim rather at giving an easy service devotionally and correctly, which is more artistic and always praiseworthy.

In our judgment, the present publication is admirably suited to help this object, as the Motetts, Litanies, &c., are of a character which do not forbid humble genius from giving them a creditable rendering. The compass is within easy range of ordinary voices ; and if the style cannot boast of the florid element—at all times a questionable beauty in Church music—it is graced with the pleasant and devotional, which we know to flow so freely from the talent of such composers as Dr. Crookall. If we were asked to single out a piece which we consider suitable for the most ordinary choir, we should point to the "Ave Verum," by Dr. Crookall, and the hymn, "Turn to Jesus, mother, turn," and here will be found beauty and simplicity so happily linked together that their rendering is worthy of genius.

"The Catholic Chorister" is published in numbers, and on single sheets, each number containing two different pieces, either Motett and Litany or Hymn and Tantum Ergo, &c. ; and its price is equally attractive with the sterling worth offered in the music.

L'Abbé Hetsch. Par l'auteur des "Derniers Jours de Monseigneur Dupanloup." Avec Introduction de MONSEIGNEUR PERRAUD, Evêque d'Autun. Paris : Poussielgue Frères. 1885.

THE leadings of "kindly light" have been so often described that interest in these masterpieces of Grace may possibly be waning ; and biographies so often turn out to be but daubs, in white or in black, of some better or less known personage, that a fresh one enters the list at some disadvantage. There is nothing vulgar in the work before us. This story of a conversion is unique, and the good taste and discrimination of the biographer remarkable.

How Albert Hetsch, bred in Protestantism, and suckled by Pantheism, emerged at last through the twilight of Deism into the broad day of Catholic Faith is a tale not often read and rarely told. The "idea of unity," the thread which guided this disciple of Strauss and Hegel through the labyrinth of German philosophy to the temple of Truth, is ably treated ; with succinctness and great lucidity the itinerary is given ; and, in dealing with modern philosophy, the author shows no prentice hand. The crossing of the bar which lies between the stormy ocean of misbelief and the tranquil haven of the Church is touchingly told. The vocation, the work, the trials, and the triumph are skilfully

detailed. Choosing France for his adopted country, and intimately associated during the whole of his sacerdotal life with Monseigneur Dupanloup, the Abbé Hetsch was connected with the foremost Catholics of his time; but his work was done in, and his best energies devoted to, the diocese of Orleans. His name is there remembered as a household word, and the admiration for his great and varied talents, his winning ways, and his saintly piety, will not easily die.

We owe our thanks to his biographer for making him known, and so well known, to us, and if the author's love of her country may once or twice have clothed itself in expressions which seem exaggerated, it is easy to be indulgent to a child of the Church's eldest daughter; and if the reader is unable to agree with every word of praise meted out to the great Bishop, he will acknowledge him to have been the bravest lance in Christendom, though in the heat of the *mêlée* a blow may have been misdirected, and through the dust of the combat ally appeared a foe.

A Latin Letter (with an English translation) to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., Successor of St. Peter, and Primate of the Catholic Church. By THOMAS WIMBERLEY MOSSMAN, D.D., Rector of Torrington, Lincolnshire. London: John Hodges. 1884.

WE have read this remarkable "Letter" with keen interest. It contains a clear, bold profession of faith in the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope. One cannot but be touched by the plaintive cry for guidance and union which runs through its every line.

After having expressed his adhesion to the Roman Church and its supreme Pontiff, and also the hope that the Holy Father may be enabled to "gather together Christ's sheep," the author ventures to tell the Pope that "there are four things upon which the people of England have greatly set their hearts": "an open Bible in their mother-tongue; secondly, that their clergy may be allowed to marry; thirdly, that they may have the Mass and the other sacred offices in their own tongue; and fourthly, that they may drink of the Chalice in the Holy Eucharist. We cannot understand how, after such an unreserved and full profession of Catholic faith, Dr. Mossman can remain where he is. There is no consistent resting-place for him except within the precincts of the Catholic Church.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1885.

WE have on previous occasions expressed a high opinion of the Rev. Mr. Beet's Commentaries, as presenting, in a popular form, the result of very wide reading. They evince considerable scholarship, and yet there is no parade of learning. This fresh volume, on the Galatians, the result of two years' careful work, is not inferior to the volumes which have preceded it. Mr. Beet's theological position makes it impossible for us to approve of much of his commenting on the dogmatic passages of this Epistle. But, apart from con-

troverted points of dogma, we think the learned author deserves credit for many admirable renderings and clever solutions of difficult passages. We might instance his treatment of the well-known "mediator" difficulty in Gal. iii. 20, of which there are said to be some three hundred different explanations; or, again, in the same chapter, his exposition of the Apostle's argument of the "curse of the law," and "the seed," and its apparent invalidity when compared with the Hebrew text. We are glad to see that Mr. Beet does not question the fact of St. Peter's being in Rome, though his suggestion that perhaps St. Peter went there on St. Paul's invitation cannot be regarded as happy. The difference which arose at Antioch between these two Apostles is explained as arising from inconsistency of conduct, and not from doctrinal error, on St. Peter's part. On the question of "the Lord's brethren," Mr. Beet adopts the Epiphanian view—that they were the children of St. Joseph by an earlier marriage, overlooking the difficulty that, if this were so, our Lord would not have been the heir to David's throne. Mr. Beet claims the Galatians as a Keltic and not a Teutonic race, despite of St. Jerome's evidence about Trèves. For this, some Germans will not thank him; for, in consequence of Luther's heretical reading of this Epistle, they would claim it as entirely their own. No doubt, in the tendency to "bite and devour one another," which St. Paul rebukes in the Galatians, Prince Bismarck would recognize a characteristic feature of the German character—the hereditary curse of the god Loki.

Poems, original and translated. By JOHN BRADFORD. Hereford : F. S. Prosser. Bristol : Austin & Oates. 1885.

THESE verses are collected from the Hereford Press of twenty-five years. They are the work of a Catholic who enjoys Wyese country; so they have at least a local claim. The original verses are to be preferred to the translations, but these lines from Millevoie catch the dreamy sadness of the French original:—

Poor dying flower! bent, torn and lone,—
Erewhile thou wert the valley's pride;
Now o'er the earth thy petals glide
Wherever by the breeze they're blown.

Death's scythe cuts down both me and thee;
The same God's will we both obey;
A leaf from thy stem flies away—
A long-loved joy abandons me.

Men and Women of the Far-off Time. By S. H. BURKE.
London : Burns & Oates.

THE author of "Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty" has gathered various essays into one pair of covers, whereon we see, *en passant*, as the heralds say, the flunkies and sedan-chair of the olden

times. This does not prepare us for coming upon the Anglo-Saxons the moment we go inside, then passing through glimpses of the White and Red Roses, the Tudors and Cardinal Wolsey, and emerging at the other end among Gothic architecture. Still, variety is charming in essays as in so much else. The only break in the variety is a certain concentration of attention upon Queen Elizabeth's time, perhaps because of former studies. The motto is: "Knowledge knows no distinction of persons; it demands only a reverence for the beautiful and the just;" and again: "Time unveils all truth." And, in accordance with his mottoes, the author is bent upon piercing all former misrepresentation, and bringing out his men and women as miniature psychological studies recognizably like the men and women of the living world. We have long before now expressed our opinion of the valuable work Mr. Hubert Burke has done in gathering the materials that make up his more important volumes—the Tudor portraits. He states that "a black and terrible indictment can be proved" against Elizabeth, but he is somewhat too anxious to fill in sketches in her favour. This is the only drawback to the value of these short and bright essays. They are made of the condensed results of study—fact upon fact, with no verbiage and but little comment; and yet, by a very rare gift, the author has produced a book that is positively light reading, and that might well be a pleasure to young students who find deeper Histories hard and heavy.

Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by SAMUEL BEAL. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

Our readers ask who was Hiuen Tsiang? Let his editor, Chang Yueh, a Minister of State under the Emperor T'ang Huan Tsung—A.D. 713–756—answer that question. He was a learned man, mighty in the Buddhist scriptures—the three Pitakas or Baskets—and a priest in the temple of "Great Benevolence." He was descended from a family illustrious in Chinese literature, who "by their choice services in the world served to produce as their result an illustrious descendant." "In him were found sweetness and virtue. These roots, combined and deeply planted, produced their fruits rapidly. The source of his wisdom was deep, and wonderfully it increased. At opening life he was rosy as the evening vapours and round as the rising moon. As a boy he was sweet as the odour of cinnamon or the vanilla tree. At early dawn he studied the false and the true. He considered the limits of life, and put away from him the pleasures of sense. He was diligent in his labour as a student; he lost not a moment of time, and by his virtues he rendered his teachers illustrious, and was an ornament to his place of study. He mastered the nine divisions of the book and swallowed the lake Mong.*

* A metaphysical way of saying that he acquired a vast deal of erudition.

He broke down the boasting of the iron-clad stomach ; * and finally, as the schools of Buddhism in his day were contentious, with a virtue of unequalled character and at a time favourable in its indications, he took his staff, dusted his clothes, and set off for distant regions." Such are a few of the flowers of Chinese rhetoric culled from the panegyric wherewith Chang Yueh has celebrated the merits of this illustrious Buddhist pilgrim. In plain English, he was a devout and learned Chinese Buddhist priest of the sixth century of our era, who travelled through India to procure original Buddhist books and such other religious treasures as he might be able to obtain, and who, after encountering the greatest hardships and undergoing innumerable risks for sixteen years, returned again to his native country, with a mind stored with the recollections of the wonderful things he had seen, and with the following treasures :—

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body of Buddha.
2. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal—a copy from the statue which Udayana, King of Kinumbi, had made.
4. A similar statue of sandal-wood, a copy of the figure made after Buddha had descended from the Trayastrimsai heaven.
5. A silver statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
7. A sandal-wood figure of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
8. One hundred and twenty-four works (sûtras) of the Great Vehicle.
9. Other works, amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty fasciculi, carried by twenty-four horses.

Hïuen Tsiang lived for nineteen years after his return to China, occupied in the translation from the Sanskrit of the sacred books brought back by him, a labour in which he was assisted by some seven hundred Buddhist monks. When his end drew near he is related to have divided among the poor such scanty property as he possessed, and to have addressed in the following terms his friends, whom he had invited to come and see him for the last time and " to take a cheerful leave of the impure body of Hïuen Tsiang " :—

I desire that whatever reward I have merited by good works may fall upon other people. May I be born again with them, in the heaven of the blessed, be admitted to the family of Mi-le, and serve the Buddha of the future, who is full of kindness and affection. When I descend again upon earth to pass through other forms of existence I desire at every new birth to fulfil my duties towards the Buddha, and arrive at the last at the highest and most perfect intelligence."

These were his last words.

In the two volumes before us the Rev. Samuel Beal, whose valuable contributions to our knowledge of Chinese Buddhism are highly

* He overcame in argument one who wore an iron corset lest his learning should burst open his body.

appreciated by all Oriental scholars, has given us a carefully executed translation of Hiuen Tsiang's account of his long wanderings. Mr. Beal's volumes supply a want, for the French translation of the "Si-Yu-Ki" executed by M. Stanislas Julien nearly thirty years ago, has long been out of print, and is extremely scarce. And he has done well in prefixing to Hiuen Tsiang's narrative, translations of the travels of two earlier Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hian and Sung-yun. It is not easy to over-estimate the value of Hiuen Tsiang's work. An accurate observer and a careful and conscientious writer, he has given us a trustworthy picture of the social and religious condition of the countries visited by him which is our chief authority for their state in his day. As an admirable specimen of his method we may refer to the first twenty pages of book ii. (pp. 69 to 89 in Mr. Beal's first volume), where a general description of India is presented to us. Credulous, of course, he was. Living in an uncritical age, and penetrated to the inmost recesses of his being by the religion which he professed, how could he have helped being? But intentionally mendacious he most certainly was not. His good faith is as unquestionable as his credulity. And to the scientific student the wildest of the legends which he so naively relates are by no means the least significant or the least valuable parts of his work.

Jean de Vivonne, sa vie et ses ambassades près de Philippe II. et à la Cour de Rome, d'après de documents inédits. Par le VICOMTE GUY DE BREMOND D'ARS. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

JEAN DE VIVONNE, seigneur of Saint Gouard, Marquis de Pisany, was not a great man, says our author, by way of beginning his Preface. And this is perhaps true; but he was so much mixed up with the chief events of France, Spain and Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century that we have good reason to be grateful for a biography of him, more particularly for such a pleasant and well written one as this. De Vivonne was born probably in 1530, and from his eighteenth year to his death in the last year of the century, he was before the public either as a soldier or as a diplomat. His two chief embassies were to Spain and to Rome. At the court of Philip II. he remained eleven years; to him long years, for he disliked the Spaniards. Our author shares his sentiments as far as Philip II. is concerned, whom he paints very black indeed. He refuses also to modify his verdict of Philip in the light of M. Gachard's recently published letters of that monarch: and inclines too much to judging of contemporaneous affairs, of the league for example, in the spirit of our own times. In this volume, however, he is chiefly the biographer of an unhesitating royalist of the thorough old-fashioned type, and his book, we must repeat, is full of useful historical matter drawn from unedited sources. He here, we may also note, repeats the judgment that the St. Bartholomew massacre was unpremeditated, which he maintained at length in an Article in the *Revue des Questions historiques* in Oct. 1883, of which at the time we gave a brief résumé.

The reader who is not a student, but likes a book of biography when it is also attractive, may confidently begin "*Jean de Vivonne*." It contains much curious matters about life at that time in both France, Spain and Italy, and the narrative, which is never dry nor obscure, is enlivened by not a few amusing anecdotes. And de Vivonne himself is a most charming character, full of sense and natural wit, upright, honourable, an uncompromising royalist, highly intelligent, shrewd but without scholarship, and so good-natured, kind and amusing, as to be loved by all. He was fond of elegance, of the fashions, of fine horses, of a grand retinue; because, says the author, "*il était glorieux*." He was one of the old school, countrified rather than Parisian, a Gascon, a true descendant of the feudal seigneurs: so too, "*il dépensait en grand seigneur, quel que fût l'état de sa bourse*," which had begun to be the fashion in his day among the nobility. He was ambitious, but with limits—those of chivalrous honour, and of his Catholic faith, to which he was deeply attached—not a small thing in his day. His only daughter, the famous Madame de Rambouillet, would seem to have inherited many of his gifts and not a few of her mother's, the princess Julia Savelli, whom de Vivonne married when he was "*un vieux garçon*" of fifty-seven years, and ambassador at Rome.

The Empire of the Hittites. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions, by Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.; a Hittite Map, by Sir CHARLES WILSON, F.R.S., &c., and Captain CONDER, R.E.; and a Complete Set of Hittite Inscriptions, Revised by Mr. W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1884.

THE number of names on this title-page is quite indicative of the large amount of interest now being felt by scientific and Scripture students in the "*Hittite question*." Dr. Wright's volume has already had a warm welcome accorded to it, and we are glad to add our welcome and to introduce it to Catholic readers. If further investigations should confirm those which have been thus far made, in the line of result to which at present they tend, we shall witness the singular phenomenon of a mighty empire that flourished nineteen centuries before Christ, the rival first of Egypt and later of Assyria—an empire which "*maintained its existence, defying all enemies, for a period of longer duration than that of the empires of Babylon or Assyria, Greece or Rome*"—restored in the nineteenth century after Christ to a place in history which it had entirely lost save for a few references in the Bible which some of our modern critics had sagely pronounced to be "*unhistorical*." Dr. Wright's interesting volume is valuable, as it gives us a complete summary of these investigations, gathered from a variety of less accessible works in which such scholars as Chabas, Brugsch, Sayce, and others have each recorded their particular contribution. And if of these researches Dr. Wright would doubtless not say "*quorum pars magna fui*," he has had a share in them, and that not a trifling one. The first chapter of his volume

records it, and is a charming narrative of an exciting and hazardous adventure to secure the Hamath inscriptions.

The Hittites are called in our Vulgate text the Hethites, and under that form of the name the Abbé Vigouroux gave an excellent and full account of them in the *Revue des Questions historiques* of January, 1882. The book of Genesis makes mention of the Hittites as already a settled people as early as the time of Abraham (xv. 20); it was from them that the patriarch bought the burial-place for his wife Sara at Hebron, for which he paid in current money. From this text onward we meet frequent mention of the Hittites: Esau married two Hittite women, who were a great trouble to Isaac and Rebecca; the spies report to Moses their locality in the promised land; one of their nation, "Urias the Hethite," the husband of Bethsabee, was one of David's "valiant men;" their women were among those strange women for whom Solomon neglected God; they must have been a warlike people and independent of the Hebrew monarch, since we read of their selling horses and chariots, and of the likelihood of the King of Israel hiring the Hittites as allies in war (4 Kings vii. 6). Thus the Bible: but the hieroglyphics of Egypt contain very large record of the Kheta, a people whom most scholars identify with the Hittites, and, where record of the Kheta ceases on the Egyptian monuments, it is continued of them under the name of Khatti in the Assyrian inscriptions. From these two sources we gather a history which makes of this people one of the chief empires of the ancient world. Mariette believes that one of the Hyksos dynasties of Egypt was Hittite. As early as the twelfth dynasty there is hieroglyphic record of Hittite towns and palaces on the borders of Egypt, probably two thousand years B.C. Northwards they had powerful cities on the Orontes—as Kadesh and Hamath—and Carchemish on the Euphrates, whilst either their possessions or their conquests seem to have embraced the whole of Asia Minor. Time after time did the Egyptian monarchs lead their armies against the Hittite kings. Dr. Wright summarizes one chapter thus:—

We thus see the Hittite kings the rivals of the Pharaohs in peace and war from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty. The shock of Egyptian invasion exhausted itself against the frontier cities of Kadesh and Carchemish, but the mighty empire of the Hittites extended beyond, on the broad plains and highlands of Asia Minor, and so there were always fresh Hittite armies and abundance of Hittite wealth to enable the Hittite empire to withstand the might of Egypt for a thousand years.

The struggle with Assyria was long and fierce, until in B.C. 717, under Sargon, the Hittites were finally overthrown and Carchemish taken. The local extent of Hittite power is deduced from the quantity of monuments, with hieroglyphic inscriptions in different symbols from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which have been found in numerous places of Asia Minor, as far westward as Smyrna, at Hamath, around Aleppo, and at Jerablis, the site of the ancient Carchemish. That the characters of these hieroglyphics are Hittite, Dr. Wright feels certain; he

appears to have started the theory. That they are Hittite writing is highly probable, but is not yet certain. Indeed, that uncertainty suggests the one remark to be made about this most interesting book—the writer's enthusiastic confidence notwithstanding—viz., that much of the history of the Hittites is as yet more or less conjectural. Captain Conder warns us, in the *Contemporary* for December last, that "it is not yet proven, however probable" it may be, that these numerous monuments of Syria and Asia Minor are Hittite. Portions of this earnest and entertaining volume are highly valuable to Biblical students. We cannot give any idea here of the appearance of the inscriptions, of which there is a complete set of drawings, together with an extremely interesting chapter on the attempted decipherment of them by Professor Sayce.

Auxilium Prædicatorum; or, a Short Gloss upon the Gospels. With Hints as to their Use in Sermons. Vol. III.—St. John. By the Rev. PIUS DEVINE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

THE first and second volumes of this work were noticed by us in October last. What was there said may stand for this new volume, the method of treatment and style being faithfully continued here. It may be mentioned, however, that the third volume contains, besides the Gospel, the three Epistles of St. John.

History of the Church, designed for the use of Ecclesiastical Seminaries and Colleges. By Rev. J. A. BIRKHAUSER. New York: Putset. 1884.

WE have received the first part of this work, a fasciculus of 252 large octavo pages, treating of the First Period of the History of the Church (from A.D. 1 to A.D. 680). It would be premature to do more at present than announce its appearance. We may venture to say, however, that it promises to be acceptable to that class of students and general readers who desire something shorter than Alzog, yet longer than Chantrel, and less antiquated than Reeve.

We hope to notice it more fully when it is completed.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A Translation, with Notes, and Excursus illustrative of the "Teaching;" and the Greek Text. By Canon SPENCE, M.A., Vicar of St. Pancras. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

CANON SPENCE certainly deserves the best thanks of students for giving them, in an available form, the text itself, a good translation, and an excellent commentary on this newly discovered work. The special value of the notes lies in this, that they are mainly very apposite quotations from the Apostolic Fathers, with parallel passages from the so-called Epistle of Barnabas and from the "Shepherd of

Hermas." Canon Spence considers that the "Teaching" is anterior to both the above-mentioned writings, and that their authors had read and were familiar with the "Teaching." The learned editor agrees with Dr. Lightfoot in attributing to the "Teaching" so early a date as the last quarter of the first century. The general questions concerning genuineness and authorship have already been sufficiently discussed by us. That the "Teaching" is really authentic and of very early date is now the received opinion of scholars. It only remains, then, to discuss its controversial bearings. In the first place, it is a fresh evidence to the antiquity of at least two of the Gospels, St. Matthew's and St. Luke's. So, to use Dr. Lightfoot's phrase, the "Teaching" is "another nail in the coffin of the Tübingen school of Biblical criticism." Moreover, Canon Spence claims the precept about calling nothing our own as a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles. Secondly, the Catholic teaching about fasting and almsdeeds is clearly enjoined. Wednesday and Friday are the Christian fast-days, not Monday and Thursday like the hypocrites, by whom the writer means the Pharisees. By the way, in regard to almsdeeds, we have to complain that Canon Spence refers to the Protestant translation of Daniel iv. 24 without correcting the error which is acknowledged by all Hebrew scholars. Baptism, Confession, and the Holy Eucharist are the Sacraments especially dwelt upon. Immersion is not insisted upon, but fasting by both baptizer and baptized is. The Eucharist is recognized as both a Sacrifice and a Sacrament. Malachy i. 11 is clearly applied to its fulfilment in the Mass. The Real Presence is not set forth very explicitly, but "spiritual food and drink through Jesus Christ" clearly implies it. It must of course be admitted that the words of consecration are not given, and that the Eucharistic prayers seem rather to refer to the Christian Agape, with which in the first days of the Church the Holy Eucharist was associated. There is one curious point in connection with the "Teaching" which we do not remember to have seen noticed before, and that is the entire absence of any reference to drunkenness. Almost every other sin is catalogued in connection with the "way of darkness." This is the more astonishing after what St. Paul tells us about the Agape.

A Smaller Biblia Pauperum, conteynyng thyrtie and eyghte Wodecutes illustratyng the Lyfe, Parablis, and Miraclis off Oure Blessid Lorde & Savioure Jhesus Crist. With the Propre Descrypciouns thereof extracted from the Originall Texte off John Wiclif. Preface by the Late Verie Rev. A. P. STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

A MEMORIAL volume of the Caxton Celebration of 1877 was printed, entitled "*A New Biblia Pauperum*," containing a series of woodcuts from old blocks then exhibited at South Kensington. The present book is a reprint of the same antique cuts, but reduced in size, and designated "*A Smaller Biblia Pauperum*." The pictures are certainly a curiosity, and are grotesque enough in

all conscience without either the illustrative (?) texts taken from Wyclif's version and printed in black-letter, or the interminable title-page with its affectation of obsolete spelling. The volume is only a *soi-disant* "Bible of the Poor;" indeed, the blocks probably never served in any printed book. Nothing more seems to be known of them save that they were bought at Nuremberg some sixty years ago by Mr. Sams, of Darlington, a famous collector of antiquities. An artist's mark appears on one print, but is unknown, and a date can only be suggested for them in the sixteenth, but more probably at the close of the fifteenth, century, say the British Museum authorities. Not a few of these curious woodcuts suggest a Catholic artist, and this may be a confirmation of the older date, which again is indicated by their style of workmanship. Several scenes are crowded, often in close juxtaposition, into a single plate, all illustrating one parable, for instance, or one gospel scene. This mixing of scenes is quite comical oftentimes, Our Lord, known by His crucifer nimbus, sometimes (as in folio xxxiv.) having the appearance of standing on each side of a crowd, one Christ pointing to the other. In another plate, the man sowing good seed walks in front of the enemy, a grinning devil with his tongue out, who sows cockle; the seeds appear to fall on the reapers below, who are lifting the good sheaves into the barn and the cockle-bundles into the fire, the flames of which in turn appear to rise from amid the apostles, who still lower down are gathered in front of our Lord, who is telling them the parable. In the corner of another cut, St. Peter, with the keys in his hand, is loosing a sinner by absolution with the uplifted right hand, and close by he is binding the hands of a gruesome-looking wretch, having both his own hands busy with the rope. The whole of the Passion is represented in one plate, our Lord's figure recurring in it eleven times. Altogether this is an interesting collection of curious woodcuts. Throughout, the volume is in keeping; the printing is on imitation old-style paper and in a specially designed parchment cover with antique clasps.

Religion in England from 1800 to 1850. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

IN these two well-written volumes Dr. Stoughton purports to give the History of Religion of England during the first half of the present century. The subject is a wide one, as it embraces the history of the almost innumerable religious sects into which the Christianity of England is at present divided. Our author possesses several qualifications which fit him to be the historian of Nonconformist Christianity; yet we miss in his work that comprehensive grasp and breadth of view which would render it one of lasting utility. The volumes are rather materials for a history than history itself. There is an almost total absence of what we may call historical perspective. Minor details assume the prominence of events of national importance. Many pages are often devoted to a biographical sketch of one who, though perhaps eminent in the obscure religious body to which he belonged, yet did

little to influence the broad current of national religious life. The first volume consists for the most part of such short notices.

Nor can we pass over the tone of the work with reference to Catholics. In the very first page we read: "The Irish Union if not produced was certainly promoted by the rebellion of 1798, in which Roman Catholic antipathies played so conspicuous and frightful a part." In page 3 we read: "Each Church hated the other; the bigotry and utterly unchristian spirit of the Papist surpassing that of the Protestant; had their places been changed in relation to political power we can easily infer what the consequences would have been." This is not the place to enter on a historical discussion of the causes which led to the rebellion of 1798, nor is there space to refute those historically untrue assertions. In page 58, after speaking of the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the writer goes on to say that the time had now come for relieving Catholics from the disabilities which pressed on them so heavily for such a great length of time. "No danger could be reasonably apprehended from the abrogation of the Test and Corporation Acts; but, looking at the cunning and crooked policy of Romanists, and at principles they maintained subversive of civil and religious liberty—the operating of which has since been made plain enough by the encyclical of the late Pope—it was not difficult to make out a strong case against conceding the political power then demanded." Language of this description, and occurring too, not in a party pamphlet, but in a work which professes to be sober history, exhibits such a total absence of that judicial impartiality we expect to find in a historian, as to render the whole book deservedly suspected.

The Life of the Buddha, and the Early History of his Order; derived from Thibetan Works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur. Translated by W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

THE vast Buddhist literature of Thibet is almost unknown to European scholars, and Mr. Rockhill deserves our best thanks for giving us this specimen of it. The first part of his work contains a substantial and connected analysis, and frequently literal translations of the greater part of the historical and legendary texts contained in the Thibetan *Dulva* or *Vinaya Pitaka*, the most trustworthy and probably the oldest portions of the *Bkah-hgyur*. Then we are presented with a literal English version of a work on the Buddhist School of the *Hinayāna*, by *Bhavya*, an Indian Buddhist of great renown. In the last two chapters we have an account of the early history of Thibet and *Khoten*, derived, Mr. Rockhill tells us, from a somewhat hurried examination of the Thibetan *Bstan-hgyur* and other books that have come under his notice. The peculiarities of Thibetan Buddhism form too great a subject to be even touched upon in the brief notice to which we are here restricted. But we may observe that in the Thibetan *Dulva*, as in all the Buddhist Sacred Books at present accessible to us, two periods of the life of *Gotama* are narrated in substantially the same terms—namely, his history down to his visit to *Kapilavasta*, in the

early part of his ministry, and the account of the year which preceded his attainment of Nirvâna. This is an important and suggestive fact.

The Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Collected and arranged by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Vols. 11, 12, 13. Civilization II., III., IV. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse. 1884.

IT has been a good thing to collect Brownson's essays together. He was one of the most remarkable American Catholic writers, and his shrewd, straight, and logical mind, enriched by very considerable powers of research, rendered him in his time a most powerful champion of whatever cause he took up. He was not always on the right side: at times he became sour and wayward; he was never very nice in his dealings with his opponents, but hit them hard and unsparingly. On the whole, however, his services, great services, far out-measured his shortcomings and offences. He was a thorough Ultramontane and a staunch Catholic. His essays on the Papacy and Ultramontaniam, education, civilization, political atheism, and many more that we might name, are thoroughly useful at the present time. As a repertory for Catholic lecturers the three volumes of essays will be found quite as necessary as those by Wiseman and Spalding.

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1. *The Homiletic Magazine.* March, 1885. London: Nisbet & Co.
 2. *The Monthly Interpreter.* March, 1885. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.
 3. *The Expositor.* March, 1885. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

THESE three Protestant magazines are monthly issues, and devoted almost exclusively to Scripture matters—an evidence of the immense popular interest taken in all that concerns the Bible. The *Monthly Interpreter*, edited by the Rev. Joseph Exell, is of recent birth, and therefore, perhaps, the fuller of strength and vigour of treatment. Dr. Mair's paper on "Some Recent Checks and Reverses sustained by Modern Unbelief," which appeared in February, was particularly valuable. One of the special features of the *Homiletic* is the "Clerical Symposium," in which the Right Rev. Dr. Weathers, Bishop of Amycla, has ably represented the Catholic cause. The subject now in debate is the foundation of belief in immortality. In addition to theological discussion and Scriptural exegesis, the *Homiletic* favours its clerical readers with plans and outlines of sermons, and a sermon *in extenso* from some distinguished foreign preacher. We may remark that the *Expositor* has undergone a change, both of editor and treatment. The Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll has succeeded Dr. Cox, who was editor for so many years. The change of treatment which we notice is the widening of the range of subjects selected, papers being admitted which can hardly be said to have much connection with Scriptural exposition. The

article on Canon Mozley is an interesting review; that on the "Better Resurrection," an eloquent sermon. Professor Fuller's papers on "Recent Research and the Book of Daniel" promise well, and are more in keeping with the general character of the *Expositor*.

Le Cardinal de Bernis depuis son Ministère, 1758-1794 : Le Schisme constitutionnel—La Suppression des Jésuites. Par FRÉDÉRIC MASSON. Paris: E. Plon; Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

FUTURE writers on the affairs of the Church in France during the end of the eighteenth century cannot neglect this painstaking biography, with its hitherto unpublished materials. But whoever uses it will have to carry with him the judgment of a critic, remembering that the history is presented to a great extent from the point of view of De Bernis himself. De Bernis was not unfriendly to Voltaire; and when he was sent as French ambassador to Rome, where he resided during the most important period of his life, he regarded himself as the champion of the so-called liberties of the French Church against the Pope. His bluntness in writing of Popes with whom he had to deal, shows that he forgot the Vicar of Christ in regarding the man. He clears himself of suspected Jansenism, but his Gallicanism is beyond doubt; and for this the biographer at least seems to show sympathy, although this is a point that weighs heavily against all his work as agent of the Duc de Choiseul in Rome. His Gallicanism was, of course, the result of his having entered the priesthood, as many able men did at that unfortunate time, chiefly as a path to worldly advancement and to a political career. Poor by birth, his literary skill attracted the notice of the Court, and he rose to be Louis XV.'s ambassador at Venice, and afterwards Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was forced to resign this post in 1758. The *Life of De Bernis* already published by M. Masson covers the ground up to this point. The new work embraces a more important period.

De Bernis seems to have been ordained only when he was about to take the Archbishopric of Albi on his return to favour in 1758; he had hitherto worn the tonsure as the Abbé Bernis. He was now sent as French ambassador to Rome, and remained there till his death in 1794. As agent of the Duc de Choiseul, he took a prominent part in forcing upon Clement XIV. the suppression of the Jesuits; and it was he who conducted the negotiations with Pius VI. regarding all the changes produced in France at the Revolution.

He appears to have had no personal rancour against the Jesuits, but he worked zealously for the Duc de Choiseul. M. Masson has here to deal with many still disputed questions; on more than one his judgment will hardly be accepted as conclusive. It was surely not necessary to expend serious argument on the exploded calumny of the poisoning of Clement XIV. M. Masson takes the side of the

Jesuits; and one of their bitterest enemies, Choiseul himself (p. 299), dismisses the charge.

The character of the Cardinal de Bernis took colour from his time; he was a skilful diplomatist and an able man, and he gained all he had counted upon when he chose the service of the Church as a key to the service of the State. It is well for France that, after the fiery trial of the Revolution, the pestilence of Gallicanism has been swept away, and the sanctuary is no longer an entrance to the Court or to political eminence. That was the period of decline and weakness which prepared the Revolution, the open war against the Holy See, the captivity of the Popes, the dispersion of all the religious Orders, the desolation, well-nigh the ruin, of the Church in France. At that period loyalty to the Holy See was almost counted disloyalty to the country as an isolated semi-religious Power. What wonder that men like De Bernis were found to consider that a battle for their country might have its ground at Rome? It was also a time when Jansenism had spread its leaven far beyond its avowed disciples; and many of the Cardinal's sympathies and antipathies were identical with those of the Jansenists, although he cleared himself of the charge of belonging to their ranks. One is conscious that, great personage and high dignitary of the Church as he was, his soul wanted the true ring, the true instinct, of a great Catholic; witness how, at least on one occasion, he manifests a dislike for the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

In conclusion, M. Masson's work is of historical value for the documents it unearths, and the new light of fresh materials. In his Preface he gives the sources of this interesting biography; but, somehow, it seems that, despite the impartial professions of the Preface, he identifies himself a little more than is desirable with the views of the central figure, to whom he has devoted so long and detailed a study.

Modern Scientific Views and Christian Doctrines compared. By the Rev. JOHN GMEINER. Milwaukee, Wis. 1884.

THIS unpretentious little volume of two hundred pages is a treasury of scientific information and philosophical criticism. The most recent doctrines of the great scientists and so-called philosophers are clearly stated—generally, indeed, in their own words—and as clearly shown to be either untenable or else inoffensive to a Catholic. In small compass we have here a lucid refutation of the more popular and widespread errors of the day.

Where assertions are made on false or insufficient grounds, the falseness and insufficiency are accurately pointed out. Sometimes, where the facts themselves are undeniable, the deductions are shown to be without warrant, and the theories raised with so much care and patience to be without foundation.

The general reader will rise from the perusal of this little work, not merely instructed and entertained, but, what is vastly more important, with his faith strengthened in the dogmas of the Church, and his mind comforted by the evident harmony reigning between religious and

scientific truth. To those whose duties oblige them to mix in infidel society, this volume may be strongly recommended. Indeed, it is on the side of a false science and a corrupt philosophy that we must chiefly look for the tempest that is to try us. The true wisdom, then, is not to shirk difficulties or to deny facts, but to answer the one and to explain the other. Considering its very limited size and the extent of the ground it covers, this task has been ably done in the present volume. We must congratulate the learned Professor of the Theological Seminary of St. Francis, Milwaukee, on having so materially assisted us to understand the truth laid down by Bacon three hundred years ago, that "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion."

St. Paul the Author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel.

By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. London: Wyman & Sons. 1884.

THE first question which suggests itself in regard to a book which runs counter to general tradition is what is the author's motive for writing it? Mr. Evans explains that his object is to strengthen the position of these two important parts of the New Testament against rationalist critics by fixing their authorship upon St. Paul, whose authority even infidels cannot gainsay, and as a necessary consequence establishing the fact that both Gospel and Acts were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Granting the goodness of the motive, it may be open to question whether the reversal of the old and constant tradition of St. Luke's authorship would be a gain to the orthodox cause, and whether the new theory of authorship might not be open to yet stronger objections. The next point is, what evidence does Mr. Evans bring forward to support his new view? He adduces a list of words, phrases and particles occurring in the Acts and Third Gospel, which may be found in St. Paul's epistles and nowhere else in the New Testament. A similarity of language and style between St. Paul and St. Luke has often been remarked, but it is not so great as to prove identity of authorship. Mr. Evans omits to notice the points in which they are dissimilar. By parity of reasoning it could be shown that St. Paul was the author of the first Epistle of St. Peter, which contains words which are not found elsewhere than in St. Paul. Mr. Evans dwells much on what he calls the parallelisms of the Third Gospel and the Acts, and finds therein a proof of Pauline authorship. He supposes that the writer's object was to glorify St. Paul by showing that he was like our Lord in his life and sufferings, and like St. Peter in his miracles. In this Mr. Evans is borrowing an idea from the Baur and the "Tendenz" critics. Could it be established that the writer had any such object, it would prove to our thinking the very opposite to what Mr. Evans desires—that St. Paul was not the writer. Mr. Evans's objections against St. Luke's authorship are about as cogent as his arguments in behalf of St. Paul. Firstly, St. Luke's name is not found in the Third Gospel or the Acts. The first person plural which occurs in certain passages in the

Acts, has no significance for Mr. Evans. Secondly, the writings in question were the work of a highly educated writer, which, according to Mr. Evans, St. Luke was not. He even doubts whether "St. Luke was able to write a prescription or even his own name," and compares "the beloved physician" to one of "the barber-surgeons of the Middle Ages!" This is really too bad, particularly as Mr. Evans seems to have read Mr. Hobart's book on "The Medical Language of St. Luke," and he ought to know that the status of physicians in Asia Minor was very different from that among the Romans. Then as to the narrative of the shipwreck in Acts, Mr. Evans asks:—

"Have we the best evidence to these that Luke ever suffered shipwreck in his life?" Yet he says "the shipwreck evidently appeared to the writer an event of great importance, looming large in his perspective." "That it could have been *more* important to no one than to St. Paul, the wish of whose life for years it had been to visit Rome, except perhaps to the Roman Christians, for whom he doubtless thus related it at length." (P. 54.)

On the contrary, we should argue that a shipwreck would have loomed more largely in the perspective of one to whom it was a new experience, and therefore it is not likely that the writer of the graphic account was St. Paul, to whom shipwrecks must have been somewhat commonplace, for at the date of his second letter to the Corinthians he says "he had thrice suffered shipwreck, and a night and a day he had been in the depth of the sea." Nor does Mr. Evans attempt to harmonize the biographical details given in the Epistle with the account in the Acts—a thing not easy to do on the supposition that St. Paul was the author of the Acts; nor does he explain how St. Paul could have written the preface to the Third Gospel, and yet have told the Galatians (i. 11, 12) that the Gospel which he preached was not according to man, "for neither did I receive it of man, nor did I learn it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Yet Mr. Evans congratulates himself that he has proved his case

"as conclusively and as scientifically as the Law of Gravity;" that he has proved "Baur, Strauss, and other sceptics to be wrong and their theories unfounded; so, applying the maxim 'ex uno disce omnes,' we may not unnaturally expect that the prevailing purely scientific scepticism, with all its arrogant assertions and assumptions—all the more to be deplored because of their demoralizing influence on the masses of mankind—the Materialism of Professor Tyndall, the Positivism and Agnosticism of Professor Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer, may speedily prove to be equally unfounded, and therefore equally untenable."

From this modest conclusion, we infer that the Rev. Howard Heber Evans, B.A., Vicar of Mapperly, and formerly Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, is either a very young or a very old man.

Reasons why we should Believe in God, Love God, and Obey God.

By PETER H. BURNETT. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

IN this bulky volume Mr. Burnett proposes to cover almost the whole ground of modern theological controversy. The first division of his book is devoted to proving the existence of God from the marks of design in the material and animal worlds. The second portion is devoted to a refutation of the theory of Evolution; and if he has not succeeded in demolishing Mr. Darwin, to whom he gives no quarter, he has, at least, succeeded in bringing together an amount of very interesting and very useful information. The remaining portions of the work are occupied with proving the credibility and historical accuracy of the Old and New Testaments.

The Story of the Scottish Reformation. By A. WILMOT, F.R.G.S.

Preceded by a Letter, on Queen Mary's Supposed Consent to "Abandon the Mass" if restored to her Kingdom, by the Hon.

COLIN LINDSAY. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS little brochure is a reprint of the edition which we noticed in October, 1883, save that there is added the letter of the Hon. Colin Lindsay traversing the authorities for a statement that Queen Mary once agreed that, if Elizabeth would restore her to her throne, "she would renounce the English Succession, abandon the Mass, and receive the Common Prayer after the fashion of the Church of England." It is strange that a few misprints of the first edition—Vivian for Ninian, Balmer for Balmez, &c.—have been carefully reproduced. We hope that this excellent sketch, suitable in this cheap edition for distribution, will have a large circulation; it can scarcely fail to do much good.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Life of the Right Rev. John N. Neumann, D.D., C.S.S.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia.* From the German of the Rev. JOHN A. BERGE, C.S.S.R., by the Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1885.
2. *Ravignan's Last Retreat.* Translated from the French, by F. M'DONOGH MAHONY. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publishing Society Co.
3. *The Life of Madame de Bonnault d'Houet, Foundress of the "Faithful Companions of Jesus."* Translated from the French, with a Preface by Lady HERBERT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1885.

4. *Life of St. Monica.* By M. l'Abbé BOUGAUD, Vicar-General of Orleans. Translated by Mrs. EDWARD HAZELAND. London: Richardson & Son.
5. *The Way to the Holy Truths of the Catholic Religion.* (Library Edition of Derby Reprints.) Edited by the Very Rev. Mgr. SING. London: Thomas Richardson & Son. 1884.
6. *Some Account of Don Bosco and his Work.* Gathered chiefly from the Narrative of Dr. D'ESPINEY. By Mrs. RAYMOND BARKER. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.
7. *Hymns and Verses.* By Lady CATHERINE PETRE. London: Burns & Oates.
8. *Memoirs and Letters of Jenny C. White del Bal.* By her Mother, RHODA E. WHITE. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1885.
9. *The New Franciscan Manual and Seraphic Treasury.* By Fr. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.S.F. Dublin: James Duffy & Son.

1. **B**ISHOP NEUMANN died suddenly in the streets in the year 1860, at the early age of forty-nine. He was one of those strong, pious, zealous, and simple missionaries whom Catholic central Europe has sent in large numbers to the United States. Bishop Dubois, of New York, ordained him priest, and he at first exercised his ministry in the western part of the State of New York. He joined the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer at the latter end of 1840. In spite of a strenuous protest on his own part and on that of the Congregation, he was commanded under formal obedience by Pope Pius IX., in 1852, to accept the burthen of the episcopate. During the remaining eight years of his life, he spent himself and was spent in his vast diocese of 300,000 Catholics. His life, as here presented with loving care and detail by his religious brethren, is full of devout incident and missionary interest. We have a man of simple spirit, solidly learned, and not without a strong feeling for art; a priest filled with zeal for souls and with the spirit of self-sacrifice; a Bishop who repeats in his own person the heroic energy and mortified life of a St. Charles. The narrative is pleasing and well put together, embodying a large proportion of the very words of the holy religious himself, not without quaint simplicity and abounding in anecdote and incident. He deserves remembrance in the annals of the great American Church as the one who first introduced the practice of the Forty Hours. He was one of the leaders in that Catholic education movement which has done so much for the Catholics of the United States. His sudden death, at Philadelphia, shocked and distressed both Catholics and non-Catholics. "But," says his friend the saintly Archbishop Kenrick, "he was prepared to die at any moment. . . . Each year of his life he passed ten days in retreat preparing for death; each month he observed a day of special recollection in the same spirit; each morning he meditated upon heavenly things; each hour and almost each moment his soul communed with God." The death of such a man could never be

unprepared. His life is a precious heirloom to his religious brethren, to his adopted country, and to the Church at large.

2. This little book bears no date, and seems to be a reprint. It professes to be a translation of the notes taken by one of the community of the Conferences given to the Carmelite sisters of the Rue Messine, Paris, at a retreat which was preached to them by Père de Ravignan in November, 1857, a few months before his death. There is nothing very striking in the considerations on the exercises of St. Ignatius as here set forth; but they will be found useful to priests and to religious for private retreats and for spiritual reading. It is a pity the translation has not been more carefully done. Even without having seen the original it is easy to see that there are numerous sentences in which the sense of the French has been very inadequately conveyed. More careful editing might also have corrected such words as "Gonsagnes" (for Gonzague) and "Maureze" (for Manresa).

3. It was right that the saintly foundress of the "Faithful Companions" should have her Life written in English, for the consolation of her children and the edification of the Church at large. Born in 1781, she lived till 1858. Her life lay between the great Revolution and the anti-clerical Republic, and she took advantage of the comparatively quiet times in which her lot was cast to establish one of those numerous congregations of actively pious women which have sprung up in the modern French Church. In April, 1820, she began her society, with two companions and seven poor children, in a house at Amiens. It quickly spread during the ensuing thirty-eight years of her life, and before she died she had numerous houses in France and Italy, besides four or five in England. The peculiar end or spirit of the Institute seems to be much the same as that of the Sisters of Charity, with the addition of public vows; and it is significant that the foundress "begged" her first seven children from the Sisters of Charity at Amiens. The book now before us is fairly translated, and put together with some skill. It is largely made up of the letters and notes of Madame d'Houet herself. In these there is edifying evidence of a holy life, of a strong character, and of a highly supernatural vocation. But there is not much which is interesting in any large sense as regards religion or literature. The minute details relating to the direction of the foundress in her earlier years by a number of Jesuit Fathers who are represented as generally at cross purposes, and, in later years, the plain hints as to "persecutions" and "storms" (nuns' equivalents for all opposition), somewhat disturb the serenity of the devotional atmosphere which one expects in the life of a heroically holy woman.

4. There are very few Lives of Saints which are more profoundly spiritual and stimulating than the Abbé Bougaud's "*Vie de Ste. Monique*." Learned, devout, earnest, eloquent, and picturesque, it is at once an interesting study of one of the most cherished of saints and an admirable example of French prose. This translation, by Mrs. E. Hazeland, deserves a warm welcome in English-speaking countries.

She has done almost the best that could be done with the brilliant French priest's extremely French style, and there is not an unreadable sentence from beginning to end of the handy octavo sent out by Messrs. Richardson. The following short extract may be given as a sample of the author's style and the translator's success:—

I may perhaps be asked where I have found materials for such a history. . . . Augustine loved his mother passionately, spoke of her incessantly, and has embalmed her memory in almost every work that issued from his pen. . . . His mother's name, his mother's memory, would suffice to fill his eyes with tears even when in the pulpit. Yielding to the charm of these souvenirs, he would discourse of them to his people at Hippo, and his sermons, where one would hardly have looked for such allusions, are full of words of touching beauty, bearing the impress of filial gratitude, and the twofold mark of genius and of sanctity. It is needless to say that nowhere has he spoken of his mother so fully, with such heartfelt joy and deep emotion, as in his "Confessions." And yet in perusing this work we feel that St. Augustine does not tell all. A species of modesty restrains his pen, and in several passages it is evident that he designedly veils the halo surrounding her, lest a ray of the same glory should be reflected on his own brow. But the heart divines that which he withholds; tradition indicates it, and the Church often hymns the same. . . . These gems I have gathered, and present them as an offering to Christian mothers.

It might have been as well if the numerous passages in which the author translates St. Augustine himself had been re-translated from the original, or at least carefully compared. Any French rendering of the massive prose of the "Confessions" is sure to be somewhat of a paraphrase; and by the time the French idiom has been turned into English, the original text is sure to be a good deal obscured. In describing, for instance, from the "Confessions," in inverted commas, the celebrated scene at Ostia, when Monica and Augustine conversed about heaven (as we have them in Ary Scheffer's well-known picture), the great Doctor's own words are by no means correctly given. He says their thoughts gradually rose to the contemplation of life eternal as it is in God; but what is meant by saying that they "arrived there, as it were, with one whole spring and beat of the heart?" St. Augustine says they "just touched it during the space of one heart's beat"—a most subtle description of the kind of glimpse of the Divine which human thought is sometimes given to attain. Some other incorrectnesses or superfluities in the story, we may presume, are the author's. There is no authority for saying that this incident happened "on one of those beautiful autumnal afternoons," &c., or that they were looking over the sea; they were looking out on a garden, and there is very little sea view at Ostia. It is to be feared, also, that there is no proof whatever that the "Te Deum" was composed by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine in the traditional way. We have no objection, however, to the introduction of the legendary into the Lives of the Saints; a story may not be true of a particular saint, but it is sure to contain valuable traits of the saint's culture in times early or late. But St. Augustine's own words should be sacred. With this slight protest, we can heartily recommend an excellent translation of an excellent book.

5. We have here a re-issue of the following treatises, which are more or less familiar to Catholic readers as among Mgr. Sing's well-known Derby reprints:—"A Sure Way to find out the True Religion;" "Conversion and Edifying Death of Andrew Dunn;" Fr. E. B. Glover's "Explanation and Ceremonies of the Mass;" and "A Dialogue on the Mass." These useful little tractates have not been in any sense re-edited; but no doubt they will be sought after by missionary priests, and by those of the laity who are so often in want of a book to put into the hands of the ignorant or the inquiring.

6. A handy account, with dates and statistics, of the life and work of the well-known Turin priest, Don Giovanni Bosco, has here been skilfully given by Mrs. Raymond Barker in a neat volume of 112 pages. We learn that Don Bosco is now seventy years of age. He has founded four societies. The first is that of the Salesians or Salesian Oratorians—this is his principal work. Its members, consisting of some thousands of priests, missionaries, and lay professors and assistants, conduct the numerous *patronages*, industrial schools, and orphanages in which he receives and educates some 150,000 poor boys. To encourage vocations to the priesthood among these boys, he has established the Institute of Mary, Help of Christians. A third institute, called the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians, is chiefly occupied in teaching poor girls; and, lastly, there are the Salesian Co-operators, said to number some 80,000, an association which has been granted by Pius IX. all the privileges of the Tertiaries of St. Francis, and whose work is to assist the Salesian Fathers in seeking out destitute and neglected children. Mrs. Barker's pages are interesting and lively. One character in the narrative will be especially popular—Don Bosco's big dog, "Il Grigio." If the dog's age and adventures are not just a shade apocryphal, Don Bosco's has had more frequent escapes from assassination than any public man of the present day.

7. The friends of Lady Catherine Petre will be pleased to possess this memorial of her pious heart and graceful mind. The lines do not rise into originality or genius, but they contain much devout thought expressed in easy and flowing verse.

8. This is not precisely a devotional book, yet it contains much that is edifying. It is an account of the uneventful career of a bright and charitable American, a married lady, who was born at New York in 1835, and died at Santiago at the age of thirty-one. The style of the narrative is rather inflated and sentimental, yet not unpleasing; whilst Madame del Bal's own letters are very unaffected and full of varied interest. They contain, among other things, a curious picture of the religious condition of Central America twenty years ago.

9. This is the most complete manual for Tertiaries yet published, and contains everything they can desire, not merely as Franciscans, but as ordinary Christians frequenting the services of the Church and engaging in the usual private and public devotions of the faithful.

Record of Roman Documents.

APOSTOLIC LETTER of Pope Leo XIII., constituting the canonical erection of the North American College in Rome, and containing its rights and privileges. The rules of the College will be the same as those of Propaganda. (*Litt. Apost.* Oct. 25, 1884.) *Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, Jan. 1885.

BEATIFICATION.—The Sacred Congregation of Rites have before them, though in different stages of the process, the causes of beatification of Venerable Grignon de Montfort, founder of the Society of Missionaries of Mary, and of the "Daughters of Wisdom," and of Venerable Menocchio, Bishop of Porphyry, of the Order of S. Augustine, Sacristan to Pope Pius VII. *Vid. Tablet*, March 7, 1885.

BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS.—This blessing can be given only *in vero articulo mortis*, and not before this stage of the sickness has been reached. It cannot be given more than once in the same sickness. Prinzivalli is declared to be incorrect on this point, Pustet's decision to be right. (*S. C. Indulg. et Relig.*, June 12, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 10, 1885, March 14, 1885; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, Jan. 1885.

BOOKS CONDEMNED.—A book lately published, bearing date "Rome, 1884," entitled "The Excommunication of an Idea: a Reply to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome," by G. B. Savarese, who has assumed gratuitously the title of "Monsignor," has been placed on the list of prohibited publications. (*S. Cong. Ind.*, Nov. 28, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 13, 1884.

BOOKS PROHIBITED.—The two following books have been prohibited: "Siete Tratados," por Juan Montalvo; and "Nouvelle Etudes d'Histoire religieuse," par Ernest Renan. (*S. C. Ind.*, Dec. 19 and 22, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 3, 1885.

CRANIOTOMY cannot be safely taught, even though the mother, by means of it, could be saved, whereas otherwise the lives of both mother and child must be sacrificed. (*S. Cong. S. Officii*, May 31, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 17, 1885.

DUELLING.—Neither confessor nor doctor allowed to assist at a duel, even for the purpose of inducing the duellists to desist, or of rendering them aid in case of need. (*S. C. Inq.*, May 28, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 7, 1885; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, March, 1885.

ENGLISH SAINTS.—Twenty-three Saints whose feasts were kept in England before the days of persecution have been restored to their places in the English Calendar, and their Offices and Masses are to appear in a supplement. Feasts of S. John Baptist di Rossi and of All Holy Relics extended to England. (*S. C. R.*, Aug. 14, 1883.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 20, 1884.

EXCOMMUNICATION, MINOR.—It may be safely taught that Minor Excommunication has been abrogated. (*S. Cong. S. Officii*, Dec. 5,

1883.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 14, 1885; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, Feb. 1885.

FEASTS TRANSFERRED.—Special decree for the diocese of Armagh. The Feasts of S. Malachy and S. Charles are to be transferred whenever the Commemoration of All Souls is kept on Nov. 3; S. Malachy to Nov. 4, and S. Charles to the first free day. (*S. R. C.*, June 27, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 11, 1884; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct. 1884.

REQUIEM MASSES, PRIVILEGED DAYS FOR.—*Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, Jan. 1885.

ROSARY SUNDAY.—The Feasts of the Guardian Angels (Oct. 2) and of S. Francis of Assisi (Oct. 4), having been raised to the rank of Greater Doubles, ought, as *principal* feasts, to be preferred, on the principles of Occurrence, before the Feast of the Holy Rosary, which is but a *secondary* feast, should either of the above feasts fall on the first Sunday in October. To obviate this difficulty, the Feast of the Rosary is not to give way to any feast except one of a higher rite. (*S. R. C.*, June 19, 1884.) *Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, March, 1885.

STATIONS OF THE CROSS.—1° A *Sanatio* was asked for and granted ratifying the erection of the Stations of the Cross in a diocese the Archbishop of which, having faculties to erect and to empower others to erect, had included this faculty in the general faculties granted to each of his clergy. (*S. C. Ind.*, Oct. 21, 1883.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 11, 1884; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct. 1884.

2° THE Indulgences attached to a Cross, indulgenced for the Stations of the Cross, were formerly confined to the owner of the Cross, but may now be gained by as many persons as join in the prayers. The conditions are:—(a) One must hold the Cross; (b) Twenty Our Fathers, Hail Marys, and Glorias must be recited. (*S. C. Indulg.*, Jan. 19, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, Oct. 11, 1884; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct. 1884.

SUBMISSION OF AUTHORS.—Giuseppe Sandrini, author of a work entitled "Saggio di Letture giovanili ad uso delle Scuole popolari" (prohibited *S. C. Ind.*, April 23, 1860), and Fr. Gaspar, whose work, entitled "Der Vernunftstaat nach seinen Rechten und Pflichten," was condemned *S. C. Ind.*, May 9, 1884, have submitted. *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 3, 1885.

TITULAR SAINTS OF CATHEDRALS.—The Feast or Office of the Titular Saint of a Cathedral is to be celebrated throughout the *whole* diocese, by the secular clergy as a Double of the first class, with an octave; by the regular clergy as a Double of the first class, without an octave; such feast to rank only as a secondary feast for all those who are not attached to the Cathedral. (*S. C. R.*, May 18, 1883.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 14, 1885.

UNIVERSITIES, NON-CATHOLIC.—Letter received from the Sacred College of Propaganda, confirming the former instructions forbidding the attendance of the Catholic youth at non-Catholic Universities. *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 21, 1885.

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